



# **HISTORY OF SHĀH ISMĀ'ĪL SAFAWĪ**



# HISTORY OF SHĀH ISMĀ'ĪL SAFAWĪ

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DEDICATED  
BY KIND PERMISSION  
TO  
NAWWĀB MĪR YŪSUF 'ALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR,  
NAWWĀB SĀLĀR JANG III  
OF  
HYDERABAD (DECCAN)

گر بگویم که مرا با تو سروکاری نیست  
در و دیوار گواهی بدهد کاری هست  
من چه در پای تو ریزم که پسند تو بود  
سر و جان را نتوان گفتم که مقداری هست

## FOREWORD

For several reasons Dr. Ghulām Sarwar's thesis, submitted for the degree of Ph.D. of the Muslim University, 'Aligarh, is of extreme value. Firstly, because of its theme: Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafawī, the founder of the Ṣafawī dynasty and one of the greatest kings of Īrān, has hitherto not been the subject of a complete and independent history. Secondly, because of its exhaustiveness and accuracy: the Indian MSS. were studied locally; rotographs of MSS. were obtained from Europe; and for the inspection of Īrānian MSS. the author visited Mashhad, Tīhrān, Isfahān and Shirāz. The people of Īrān enjoy a reputation for culture, grace and hospitality, but it is pleasant to speak from personal experience that the modern Īrānians are not merely true but even superior to their reputation. However, the material so assiduously collected was examined with minute, I might almost say microscopic, care. Thirdly and finally, because of its restraint and impartiality: the thesis is well-written and well-balanced, and its sober style makes it the more authoritative. Altogether the work is first-rate, and the Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Dr. Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaymān, and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Professor A. B. A. Ḥalīm will no doubt feel very happy that a work of such sound scholarship should bear the impress of their excellent administration.

The research section of the Persian Department of the Muslim University, whereof this work is the first product, continues its existence because of the generous support of some personal friends of mine. Foremost amongst them is Nawwāb Mīr Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, Sālār Jang III, of Hyderabad (Deccan). Nobleman, litterateur, and aesthete he is India's Pitt the Younger. At the age of twenty-one he was the premier of Hyderabad; and now at the age of forty-eight he is the intellectual glory of the motherland. Then there are the two exquisitely polished princes of Bhopal—Nawwābzāda Fakhru'l-Mulk Sa'idu'z-Zafar Khān and Nawwābzāda Yamīnu'l-Mulk Rashīdu'z-Zafar Khān both of whom studied at 'Aligarh. Finally, there is the talented pupil of mine Col. Maqbūl Ḥasan Qurayshī, Minister of Bahāwalpūr. To these kind friends I say in public: "No action, however small, is or ever can be lost, but like a stone thrown into the water generates innumerable consequences running in all directions to infinity". And one of the results of their action—of their generous patronage of literature—is this original research, solid and substantial, by young Dr. Ghulām Sarwar of Jhelum.

In conclusion, the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, has my sincerest thanks for the great care with which this history has been printed.

'ALIGARH:  
May 7, 1939.

HADī ḤASAN.

## P R E F A C E

"The Šafawī dynasty marks not only the restoration of the Persian Empire and the re-creation of the Persian nationality after an eclipse of more than eight centuries and a half, but the entrance of Persia into the comity of nations and the genesis of political relations which still to a considerable extent hold good." Such are the remarks of E. G. Browne on the Šafawī dynasty, and it is a matter of regret that a critical account of the achievements of the Founder of such a dynasty should not yet have been written. Sir John Malcolm, Sir Clements Markham, and Sir Percy Sykes have, in their respective *Histories of Persia*, given a meagre account of Shāh Ismā'il Šafawī, and even those accounts are full of historical inaccuracies. A little better account of this youthful monarch has been given by W. Erskine, A. Vambery, and H. Howorth, as far as his relations with the Uzbeks are concerned. S. Creasy has, to some extent, supplemented the account of Shāh Ismā'il's relations with Turkey. Sir E. Denison Ross has given an account of the early years of Shāh Ismā'il's life; and finally, E. G. Browne has touched upon the main features of Shāh Ismā'il's achievements in the *Literary History of Persia*. But a person, who, inheriting from his "darwish" ancestors nothing but "a beggar's dish", began his successful career of conquest at the tender age of thirteen with only a handful of followers, brought the whole of Persia under his own sway in the course of a few years, gave battle to one of the most powerful Ottoman Sultāns, and laid the foundations of a kingdom which endured in his family for more than two centuries, certainly deserved better and fuller attention.

With this view in mind, I have tried to present the account of Shāh Ismā'il's achievements as clearly and precisely as possible. Not being content with the scanty material available in India, I had the good fortune to visit the land "the earth of which has rubbed its face with the hoofs of the Shāh's charger", and collected all the material (including rare manuscripts) on which I could lay my hands. Further, I supplemented manuscripts from Persia with material from the British Museum, London, and the India Office Library. In short, before embarking on this task, I endeavoured to equip myself with all the extant material on the theme.

With these preparations I started my work, and it is needless to say what amount of labour, perseverance, and keen observation was required to go through all the unnecessary and tiresome details of events of little importance with which Persian historians have filled their pages: how far I have been successful in eliminating legend from history and fiction from fact—this my work should testify.

To trace the descent of Shāh Ismā'īl, an account of his ancestors has been prefixed to the original work. The facts relating to his childhood and his struggle for the throne, which have been grossly mis-stated by the Italian travellers, have been carefully brought out; and the Shāh's wars with rival rulers have been treated *in extenso*. Special attention has been paid to the Shāh's relations with the Central Asian Uzbeks and their expulsion from Khurāsān; and still more to his relations with Turkey. The causes of hostility between Persia and Turkey and the increase of enmity between the two countries, beginning from the death of Sultān Ḥaydar, father of Shāh Ismā'īl (893/1488), and culminating in the battle of Chāldirān (920/1514), are discussed in their political aspect: how different would have been the course of history had the combatants realized that Islām needs solidarity and union, not rivalry and cleavage. Shāh Ismā'īl's correspondence with Karl V, Emperor of Germany, has not been utilized by European scholars, nor have they discussed the Shāh's system of administration. Three appendices are given at the end of the work, of which the first, relating to the Āq-Quyūnlūs, is of special interest.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my many friends in Īrān who gave me every conceivable facility for obtaining material for this history. The Īrānians are a fine people, but I hardly realized how fine they were until I had the pleasure of meeting them.

'ALIGARH,  
January 7, 1939.

GHULĀM SARWAR.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- A *Ḥabību's-Siyar*, Vol. III, Part IV (Bombay, 1273 A.H.).  
 B *British Museum MS.*, Or. 3248.  
 C *Nusakh-i-Jahān Ārā* (B.M. MS., Or. 141).  
 D *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* (Calcutta, 1931).  
 E *Khulāṣatu't-Tawārīkh* (Ṭīhrān MS.).  
 F *Tārīkh-i-Ālam Ārā-i-Abbāsī* (Ṭīhrān, 1314 A.H.).  
 G *Silsilatu'n-Nasab-i-Ṣafawīyya* (Berlin, 1924).  
 H *Nasab Nāma-i-Ṣafawīyya* (Ṭīhrān MS.).  
 I *Tārīkh-i-Shāh Ismā'il-wa-Shāh Ṭahmāsp* (Ṭīhrān MS.).  
 J *Ḥabību's-Siyar*, Vol. III, Part III (Bombay, 1273 A.H.).  
 K *Bābur's Memoirs* (Oxford, 1921).  
 L *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (English Translation), (London, 1898).  
 M *Salīm Nāma* (B.M. MS., add. 24, 960).  
 N *Munsha'āt-i-Salāṭīn*, Vol. I (Constantinople, 1264 A.H.).  
 O *Nuzhatu'l-Qulūb* (Text), (Leyden, 1915).  
 P *Jughrāfiyā-i-Mufaṣṣil-i-Īrān* (Ṭīhrān, 1310-11 Yazdigirdī).  
 Q *Nafahātu'l-Uns* (Lucknow, 1915).  
 R S. Lane-Poole's *Muhammadian Dynasties* (London, 1894).  
 S E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV (Cambridge, 1928).  
 T J. Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. I (London, 1829).  
 U C. Markham's *History of Persia* (London, 1854).  
 V P. Sykes' *History of Persia*, Vol. II (London, 1915).  
 W S. Creasy's *History of The Ottoman Turks* (London, 1877).  
 X W. Erskine's *History of India*, Vol. I (London, 1854).  
 Y A. Vambery's *History of Bokhara* (London, 1873).  
 Z *Travels of a Merchant* (included in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1873).



## **PART ONE**

## CHAPTER I

### AUTHORITIES

Before dealing with the extant authorities it is necessary to mention those works which I have not been able to find, and are probably lost.

(1) *Tārīkh-i-Aḥwāl-i-Salāṭīn-i-Turkmān* by Abū Bakr Ṭīhrānī. Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn in his *Ḥabību's-Siyar*<sup>1</sup>, while writing the account of Amīr Ḥasan Beg, says, "Abū Bakr Ṭīhrānī was an author contemporary to Amīr Ḥasan Beg<sup>2</sup>. During his reign he wrote the history of his achievements, and, as the book has not reached the compiler of this compendium, he could not string (the pearls of) the details of the history of that just king into the thread of writing<sup>3</sup>."

The authors of *Tārīkh-i-Ālam Ārā-i-Abbāsī*<sup>4</sup> and *Nasab Nāma-i-Şafawīyya*<sup>5</sup> also include this amongst their authorities.

As there is no direct connection between the reigns of Amīr Ḥasan Beg (857-96/1453-90) and Shāh Ismā'il (907-30/1501-24), therefore, its importance for the history of Shāh Ismā'il is not great.

(2) *Futūḥāt-i-Shāhī* (or *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*) by Şadru'd-Dīn Sultān Ibrāhīm Amīnī Harawī. Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn, in his *Ḥabību's-Siyar*, while writing notes on the ministers of Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā, gives a short account of the author, the gist of which is as follows:—

"He was one of the most learned men of his age, and was unequalled in prose and verse. In his early youth he was in the service of Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā ibn Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā, but later on he was appointed minister by Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā, on whose death in 911/1506, he was retained in his post by Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mirzā. On the conquest of Khurāsān by Shaybānī Knān, the Uzbek, in 913/1507, he was tried and convicted by 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Samarqandī, the minister of Shaybānī Khān. After his release, he led a secluded life till 916/1510-11, when Shāh Ismā'il conquered Khurāsān. He was adequately rewarded by the Shāh, and spent his days at Hirāt till 926/1519-20, when he left for the royal camp (i.e. of Shāh Ismā'il), where he was entrusted with the work of compiling the *History of the Royal Victories* (تاریخ فتوحات شاهی).<sup>6</sup> He further adds,

<sup>1</sup> For details see p. 8, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> For his detailed account see Appendix A, pp. 105-106, *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> App. 14-15.

<sup>4</sup> Fp. 14. For details see pp. 12-13, *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> Hf. 13a. For details see p. 7, *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> Jpp. 330-31.

"And he is still <sup>1</sup> busy on that work with full endeavour and inexpressible exertion; and in writing that book, having shown his perfect elegance and eloquence, he disregards nothing pertaining to the beauty of style and sweetness of metaphors" <sup>2</sup>.

It is clear from the above statement that Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn was not only aware of the fact of the writing of the history, but he also knew of its beauty of style.

This statement is again supported by another evidence in *Ḥabību's-Siyar*. While writing the account of the battle between Sultān Ḥaydar (father of Shāh Ismā'il) and Farrukh Yasār, the Shirwān Shāh, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn states . . . . . <sup>3</sup> در فتوحات شاهی که مهبط فیوض نامتناهیست سمت تحریر یافته که

(In *Futūḥāt-i-Shāhī*, which is the descending place of infinite favours, it is written that . . . . .)

It is evident that the account of the battle and death of Sultān Ḥaydar that follows is taken from *Futūḥāt-i-Shāhī* (or *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*) though the name of the author is not mentioned.

The author of *B.M. Or. 3248* <sup>4</sup> does not mention the *Futūḥāt-i-Shāhī* (or *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*) amongst his authorities, but it is certain that he has consulted this history. He copies from *Ḥabību's-Siyar* almost word by word, without quoting its name, while the additional facts found in his history must have been taken from the *Futūḥāt-i-Shāhī* (or *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*), for, at that time there was no other complete history dealing with the reign of Shāh Ismā'il <sup>5</sup>.

The authors of *Khulāsatu't-Tawārīkh* <sup>6</sup>, *Tārīkh-i-Ālam Ārā-i-Abbāsī* <sup>7</sup>, and *Nasab Nāma-i-Şafawīyya* <sup>8</sup> also mention the *Futūḥāt-i-Shāhī* (or *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*) amongst their authorities on the reign of Shāh Ismā'il.

The importance and superiority of this history over *Ḥabību's-Siyar* (Vol III, part IV) is evident; because, firstly, it was begun in 926/1519-20, that is, about three years before the commencement of *Ḥabību's-Siyar* (Vol. III, part IV) <sup>9</sup>; and secondly, the work was undertaken by the orders of the Shāh; and the author, who was in the royal camp, had the opportunity of consulting such persons as had participated in the battles. This statement is supported by the following sentence in the *Tārīkh-i-Ālam*

<sup>1</sup> This portion of *Ḥabību's-Siyar* is written a little earlier than Rabī' II, 929/Feb., 1523, which date is mentioned in Jp. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Jp. 331.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 16. This portion is written a little later than Dhu'l-Q., 929/Sept., 1523, which date is mentioned in the end of Jp. 373.

<sup>4</sup> For details see pp. 9-11, infra.

<sup>5</sup> Another "*Incomplete History*" is mentioned by the author of *B.M. Or. 3248* (see p. 10, infra).

<sup>6</sup> Ef. 2a.

<sup>7</sup> Fp. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Hf. 6a.

<sup>9</sup> This part was begun a little later than Dhu'l-Q., 929/Sept., 1523, which date is mentioned in the end of Jp. 373.

*Arā-i-‘Abbāsī*, which is given at the end of the account of the battle of Sulṭān Ḥaydar with Farrukh Yasār, the Shirwān Shāh. The sentence runs as follows:—

”در فتوحاتِ امینی آورده که حقیقتِ ابنِ اخبار را بفرمودهٔ خاقانِ سلیمان شان از معنی غازیان  
مثل حسین بیگ لله و فرخ آقا و جمعی دیگر که در آن جنگ گاه حاضر بودند استماع نموده از قولِ  
ایشان نوشته “ 1

(It is given in the *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī* that, according to the orders of Khāqān, Solomon in dignity, the facts of this account were written on the testimony of religious warriors like Ḥusayn Beg Lala <sup>2</sup> and Farrukh Āqā, and others who were present on that field of battle.)

While making further inquiries about this history and its author at Tīhrān (June, 1933), I was told that *B.M. Or. 3248* is *Futūḥāt-i-Shāhī* (or *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*). This, however, is incorrect, as is proved by the following identical sentences, the first taken from *Ḥabībū's-Siyar* and the second from *B.M. Or. 3248*:—

”نخست جنابِ سلطانی میف الانامی خواجه مظفر بشکچی بآن بلدهٔ فاخره رسیده در بابِ اسمائتِ  
اکابر و اشراف و تقویّتِ ملتِ شرفِ دودمانِ عبدِ مناف نشانی که از مصدرِ عنایت و الطاف صدور  
یافته بود رسانید و روزِ جمعه بمسجدِ جامع تشریف برده پیش از ادای نماز امیر صدر الدین سلطان  
ابراهیم امینی بر ممبر آمد و آن فرمان واجب الاذعان را خوانده مضمونِ صدقِ مقرونِ آن موجب  
اطمینانِ خواطرِ اکابر و اصاغر گردید “ 3

(Firstly, His Excellency, the scimitar of nobility, Khwāja Muẓaffar Bitikchī reached that elevated city, (and) brought the letter that was meant for consoling the leading men and nobles, and for strengthening the nation of the Honour of the family of ‘Abd-i-Munāf (i.e. the nation of the Holy Prophet), and was issued from the source of kindness and favours. *On Friday, he went to the Jāmi‘ Mosque, and before performing the prayers, Amīr Ṣadrū'd-Dīn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Amīnī rose to the pulpit, read the order, the obedience to which is necessary, (and) the truth-containing contents of which became the cause of consolation of the hearts of nobles and common people.*)

”و آن نشانِ موفور الاحسان را محمولِ جنابِ سیف الانامی خواجه مظفر بشکچی که در همان  
روز با درویش محمد یگ یساول از استرآباد بشرف پایوس سرافراز گشته بود بآن بلدهٔ فاخره روانه

<sup>1</sup> Fp. 15.

<sup>2</sup> He was the commander of the left wing (see p. 25, *infra*).

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 61.



فرمودند و آن رسولِ نامی بآن محیفة گرامی چون بهرات رسید روزِ جمعه بجامع شهر تشریف برده پیش از ادای نیاز امیر صدر الدین ابراهیم امینی بر معبر بر آمده آن فرمان واجب الاذعان را خوانده و مضمونِ بصدقِ مقرونِ آن موجبِ اطمینانِ خواطرِ اکابر و اصاغر گردید“<sup>1</sup>

(That scimitar of nobility, Khwāja Muẓaffar Bitikchī arrived the same day from Astrābād in the company of Darwish Muḥammad Beg Yasāwul, and after an audience with the Shāh, he was despatched with that exceedingly kind letter to that elevated city. And when that great messenger reached Hirāt with that dignified letter, *he went to the Jāmi'* (Mosque) *on Friday, (and) before performing the prayers, Amīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm Aminī rose to the pulpit, read the order, the obedience to which is necessary, (and) the truth-containing contents of which became the cause of consolation of the hearts of nobles and common people.*)

The author of *B.M. Or. 3248* has copied the last sentence from *Ḥabību's-Siyar*. It is clear, therefore, that had he himself been Amīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Aminī he would not have mentioned his name in the above sentence in this way. There is other internal evidence on this point, but the above-given extract is sufficient.

(3) *The Works of Khiyālī Tabrizī*<sup>2</sup>, mentioned by the author of *Khulāṣatu't-Tawārīkh* amongst his authorities.

(4) *The Works of Najūmī Harawī*<sup>3</sup>, the historian of Khurāsān, mentioned by the author of *Afḍalu't-Tawārīkh* amongst his authorities.

(5) *The First Jild or a Daftar of the First Jild of Afḍalu't-Tawārīkh*. The *B.M. MS. Or. 4678* is designated as the First Daftar of the Second Jild of *Afḍalu't-Tawārīkh*<sup>4</sup>. It was composed during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās the Great (905-1038/1587-1629), and deals with the history of the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76), the son and successor of Shāh Ismā'il, from his accession to his death. It is clear, therefore, that the First Jild or a Daftar of it deals with the history of the reign of Shāh Ismā'il.

Now come the extant authorities which are divided into two broad sections as follows:—

- (I) Authorities on the ancestors of Shāh Ismā'il; and
- (II) Authorities on the reign of Shāh Ismā'il.

#### (I) *Authorities on the Ancestors of Shāh Ismā'il.*

(1) *Ṣafwatul-ṣ-Ṣafā* by Darwish Tawakkulī ibn Ismā'il commonly known as ibn Bazzāz. This work was composed in 750/1349 in the days of Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dīn ibn Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq, and deals with the life of Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq and his ancestors. A recension was prepared

<sup>1</sup> Bf. 194b.

<sup>3</sup> *B.M. MS. Or. 4678*, ff. 17b and 50a.

<sup>2</sup> Ef. 2a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 14b.

by Abu'l-Fath al-Ḥusaynī in the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76). This work has been consulted nearly by every author who has dealt with the ancestors of Shāh Ismā'il. It was lithographed in Bombay in 1329/1911.

(2) *Silsilat-u'n-Nasab-i-Ṣafawīyya* by Shaykh Ḥusayn ibn Shaykh Abdāl Zāhidi. This work was composed in the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1106/1666-94), and contains short biographical notes on Shāh Ismā'il's ancestors up to Fīrūz Shāh-i-Zarrīn Kulāh, and his successors down to the ruling Shāh. The biographical notices are really useful and supplement the earlier authorities, especially in dates. Selected verses of some members of the Ṣafawī family are also given. The last date mentioned in the work is 1059/1649. It was printed in Berlin in 1924.

(3) *Nasab Nāma-i-Ṣafawīyya* by Muḥammad Shafī' al-Ḥusaynī. This work was also composed in the reign of Shāh Sulaymān and was completed in 1090/1679. It is divided into three volumes. The first volume contains : (i) short biographical notices on Shāh Ismā'il's ancestors up to Imāmzāda Ḥamza ibn Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim; (ii) a comparatively detailed account of the reign of Shāh Ismā'il; and (iii) a more detailed account of the reigns of the three succeeding Shāhs, namely: Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76), Shāh Ismā'il II (984-85/1576-77), and Muḥammad Khudā Banda (985-95/1577-87). The work ends with the accession of Shāh 'Abbās the Great (which took place in Dhu'l-Q., 995/Oct., 1587). As far as the account of Shāh Ismā'il's ancestors is concerned, it adds to some extent, especially in dates, to the information given by the earlier authorities. The author mentions *Baḥr'u'l-Ansāb*<sup>1</sup>, *Ṣafwat'u's-Ṣafā*<sup>2</sup>, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥwāl-i-Salāṭīn-i-Turkmān*<sup>3</sup>, *Nafaḥātu'l-Uns*<sup>4</sup>, *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*<sup>5</sup>, *Ḥabību's-Siyar*<sup>6</sup>, *Nusakh-i-Jahān Ārā*<sup>7</sup>, *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh*<sup>8</sup>, and *Tārīkh-i-'Ālam Ārā-i-'Abbāsī*<sup>9</sup> as his authorities. It copies from them word by word.

Apart from these works, almost every history on the reign of Shāh Ismā'il contains short biographical notes on his ancestors.

## (II) *Authorities on the Reign of Shāh Ismā'il.*

This section is divided into four sub-sections, namely:—

- (1) Purely Persian Authorities;
- (2) Supplement to the Affairs of Khurāsān and Transoxiana;

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<sup>1</sup> Hf. 2a. For details see *Ethé's Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Lib. (Oxford, 1903)*, pp. 74-75 and 332.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 2b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 13a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 8a. For details see *Rieu's Catalogue of Persian MSS., Vol. I (London, 1879)*, p. 349.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 6a.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 14a. For details see p. 8, *infra*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 11a. For details see p. 11, *infra*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 14a. For details see p. 11, *infra*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 12a. For details see pp. 12-13, *infra*.

(3) Supplement to the Account of Shāh Ismā'il's Relations with Turkey; and

(4) The Accounts of Contemporary Foreign Travellers.

(I) *Purely Persian Authorities.* They are subdivided into:—

(a) Contemporary; (b) Early Non-Contemporary; and (c) Non-Contemporary.

(a) *Contemporary.*

(1) *Ḥabību's-Siyar fī Akhbār-i-Afrādī'l-Bashar* by Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn ibn Humāmu'd-Dīn better known as "Khwānd Amīr". This is a work on general history from the earliest times to Rabī' I, 930<sup>1</sup>/Jan., 1524. It was undertaken by the author at the request of his patron Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, the minister of Ṭahmāsp Mirzā, governor of Hirāt, in 927/1521; but the author was still engaged in the first volume when he lost his patron, who was put to death, on Rajab 7, 927/June 14, 1521, by Amīr Khān Mawṣilū, the tutor of Ṭahmāsp Mirzā. Accordingly, Ṭahmāsp Mirzā along with Amīr Khān Mawṣilū was recalled by the Shāh and Sām Mirzā was appointed governor with Dürmish Khān Shāmlū as his tutor. The latter appointed Karīmu'd-Dīn Ḥabību'llāh his Seal-Keeper<sup>2</sup>, under whose patronage the author resumed the work, and on its completion, dedicated it to him in 930/1524.

Volume III, part IV of *Ḥabību's-Siyar* deals with the detailed history of the reign of Shāh Ismā'il, with a brief account of his ancestors, and that of the Āq-Quyūnlūs<sup>3</sup>. The facts are in details, but the dates are few, though, as far as the affairs of Khurāsān are concerned, possibly all the dates are given. The style is elegant and engages the attention of the general reader.

The author, being resident at Hirāt, was not the eye-witness of the affairs recorded except those of Hirāt. In some places, therefore, there is lack of accuracy. On the whole, however, it is one of the best histories on the reign of Shāh Ismā'il, completed in Rabī' I, 930/Jan., 1524, only four months<sup>4</sup> before the death of the Shāh.

The author mentions *Ṣafwatū's-Ṣafā*<sup>5</sup> and *Futūḥāt-i-Shāhī*<sup>6</sup> (or *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*) as his authorities. Besides these, he obtained information from the Shāh's officers who had participated in the battles and had visited Hirāt. The work was lithographed in Ṭihrān in 1271/1855, and again in Bombay in 1273/1857.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 110.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 92-93, *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> For the detailed account of the Āq-Quyūnlūs see Appendix A, pp. 105-109, *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> Sir E. D. Ross incorrectly states in *J.R.A.S. for 1896*, p. 251, that it was finished one month before Shāh Ismā'il's death. The Shāh died on the morning of Monday, Rajab 19, 930/May 23, 1524. (See p. 94, *infra*.)

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

(2) *Shāh Nāma* by Qāsim Qāsimī Gunābādī. It is a poetical history of Shāh Ismā'il, and, as appears from the prologue<sup>1</sup>, it was begun during his reign, but was finished after the Shāh's death, and was dedicated to the same Karīmū'd-Dīn Ḥabībullah<sup>2</sup>, to whom *Ḥabībū's-Siyar* was dedicated. After the prologue, the author praises 'Abdu'llāh Hātifi<sup>3</sup>, who had begun to write a poetical history of Shāh Ismā'il, but whose work was left unfinished on account of his death (in Muḥarram, 927<sup>4</sup>/Dec., 1520). The historical portion begins from Sultān Ḥaydar ibn Sultān Junayd (860/1455)<sup>5</sup>, and extends to the arrival of Ṭahmāsp Mirzā at Hirāt (922/1516)<sup>6</sup>. The author then records the death of the Shāh (930/1524)<sup>7</sup> and ends the history with the praises of his patron<sup>8</sup>.

The historical value of this work is nil. The facts are few and even those are incorrect. It was lithographed under the name of "*Shāh Nāma-i-Qāsimī*" at Lucknow in 1870<sup>9</sup>.

(b) *Early Non-Contemporary.*

(1) *B.M. Or. 3248*. The name of the book is unknown, but it is a detailed history of the reign of Shāh Ismā'il, with a brief account of his ancestors, and that of his contemporary rulers.

As shown above<sup>10</sup>, this work is not the *Futūḥāt-i-Shāhī* (or *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*). Further, Dr. Rieu and Sir E. D. Ross have shown that this work is not by Amīr Maḥmūd ibn Khwānd Amīr<sup>11</sup>. To this negative information the following positive fact should be added.

The author's full name is unknown, but it started with *Bijan*, as is proved by the following marginal note in the author's hand, unfortunately destroyed by the book-binder:—

”پوشیده نماند که عبارت نامه که قنبر آقا برده و رد و بدل او با سلطان مراد شد از نده کترین  
بیچن . . . . . 12 نیست و این عبارت نامه اران نسخه نامربوط است که از . . . . . آورده بودند  
و بخواش خسرو آقا یوزباشی غلامان . . . . . که سرکار تالیف ربط کتاب . . . . . روی آن  
کتاب کلمه چند نوشته . . . . . لهذا در بعضی جا این فقرات نامائوس داخل این شده است . . . . .  
مخواتده معلوم شود که سبب تالیف صحیفه شریفه تنبیر عبارت او . . . . . “ 13

<sup>1</sup> *Shāh Nāma-i-Qāsimī* (Lucknow, 1870), pp. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-102.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-15. (Also see p. 101, *infra*.)

<sup>4</sup> Jp. 346.

<sup>5</sup> *Shāh Nāma-i-Qāsimī*, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102. Sp. 83 incorrectly states that the work is not published.

<sup>10</sup> See pp. 5-6, *supra*.

<sup>11</sup> *J.R.A.S. for 1896*, pp. 250-251. (For the work of Amīr Maḥmūd ibn Khwānd Amīr see p. 11, *infra*.)

<sup>12</sup> This blank in the passage, as well as the others, are due to the carelessness of the book-binder, who has spoiled the MS.

<sup>13</sup> Bf. 82a.

(It should not remain hidden that the contents of the letter, which Qanbar Āqā brought to Sulṭān Murād, and had a discussion with him, are not by *this meanest slave Bijan*....., but are taken from that "*Incomplete History*", which was brought from....., and by the desire of Khusrav Āqā Yūz Bāshī (master of panthers)..... Therefore, at some places these unpleasant sentences have been taken down in this (history)..... It should be known to the reader that the cause of the compilation of the excellent history.....<sup>1</sup>.)

Bijan has, unfortunately, not mentioned his authorities, but it is certain that he has derived information from the following sources:—

- (1) *Ḥabību's-Siyar* (—the author has practically copied the whole of the corresponding portion of *Ḥabību's-Siyar*, and frequently the very words of *Ḥabību's-Siyar*);
- (2) *Futūḥāt-i-Shāhī* (or *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*) (especially for the early life of Shāh Ismā'īl, and other details, not to be found in *Ḥabību's-Siyar*);
- (3) The *Incomplete History* (described in the above-mentioned marginal note); and
- (4) Oral evidence of persons who participated in the battles.

Bijan ends the work with prayers for the young King<sup>2</sup> (i.e. Shāh Ṭahmāsp). This has led E. G. Browne<sup>3</sup> and Sir E. D. Ross<sup>4</sup> to fix the date of composition just after the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who was ten years and half old at the time of his accession in Rajab, 930/May, 1524. But the work was undoubtedly composed after 947/1540, which is given as the date of Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā's death<sup>5</sup>. Sir E. D. Ross believes that this incident was added by some copyist<sup>6</sup>. There is no doubt that this MS. was written by a scribe; but the copy was revised and corrected by the author himself, for there are several marginal notes in the author's hand who writes about him as "*this meanest slave*" [بند کترین]<sup>7</sup>. The author has not made any marginal note about this incident, as he has done elsewhere; it is obvious, therefore, that Bijan himself has written this date. On the other hand, the work was composed before 955/1548 as it was consulted by Amīr Maḥmūd ibn Khwānd Amīr who wrote his work in this year<sup>8</sup>. This has been clearly proved by Sir E. D. Ross<sup>9</sup>. Therefore the work was composed between 947/1540 and 955/1548.

<sup>1</sup> These sentences cannot be translated due to the blanks, but the sense is quite clear.

<sup>3</sup> *Browne's Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University Lib.* (Cambridge, 1896), p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> *J.R.A.S. for 1896*, p. 250.

<sup>6</sup> *J.R.A.S. for 1896*, p. 250.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* 5a.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* 277a.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* 82a (margin).

<sup>9</sup> *J.R.A.S. for 1896*, p. 250.

In the absence of *Futūḥāt-i-Shāhī* (or *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*) Bijan's history is very valuable, especially, for the early life of Shāh Ismā'īl. It also supplements the *Ḥabībū's-Siyar*, and gives a complete, exact, and detailed account of the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl.

(2) *Tarīkh-i-Shāh Ismā'īl-wa-Shāh Ṭahmāsp* by Amīr Maḥmūd ibn Khwānd Amīr. It deals with the accounts of the reigns of Shāh Ismā'īl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp along with a brief account of their ancestors. It was begun in 955<sup>1</sup>/1548 and was finished in 957<sup>2</sup>/1550. As far as the account of the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl and his ancestors is concerned, it adds little to the earlier authorities. It is a valuable authority for the affairs of Khurāsān during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp up to the year 957/1550.

(3) *Nusakh-i-Jahān Ārā* by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qāḍī al-Ghaffārī. It is a work on general history from the earliest times to 972/1564-65, and was composed in 972/1564-65. Apart from the Ṣafawīs, it supplies very valuable, though brief, material for the Āq-Quyūnlūs, and other minor rulers. The author does not mention his authorities, but it is evident that he has utilized all the previous works. He has taken special care to be brief and to the point, and has given all possible dates even of minor events.

#### (c) *Non-Contemporary.*

(1) *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* by Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū. This is a history of the reigns of Shāh Ismā'īl, Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and Shāh Ismā'īl II (984-85/1576-77). The account begins from 900/1494, and is finished in 985/1577. It also contains a brief account of the contemporary rulers of Khurāsān, Transoxiana, and Turkey. The author has followed a strict chronological order and has recorded all the important events year by year.

The author does not mention his authorities, but he has consulted possibly all the previous works, and has copied from *Ḥabībū's-Siyar* and Bijan's history without adding facts of real importance; and, therefore, in the presence of these earlier and more important works its value is not great.

This work has been edited by C. N. Seddon. It was printed in Calcutta in 1931.

(2) *Khulāṣatu't-Tawārīkh* by Qāḍī Aḥmad ibn Sharafu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī better known as Mīr Munshī al-Qummī.

This is a work on general history from the earliest times to 999/1590. The fifth volume deals with the Ṣafawī Kings<sup>3</sup> along with their ancestors. The author states that he began the work by the orders of Shāh Ismā'īl II on the lines of the famous *Maḥla'u's-Sa'dayn*<sup>4</sup> of Kamālu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Samarqandī; but owing to the hardships which he suffered during

<sup>1</sup> If. 5a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 185a.

<sup>3</sup> Ef. 2a.

<sup>4</sup> For details see *Rieu's Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, Vol. I, pp. 81-82.



the reigns of Shāh Ismā'il II and his successor Muḥammad Khudā Banda (985–95/1577–87), he could not bring it out, as there was none to appreciate his work and to reward his labours. Therefore, when the peaceful time of Shāh 'Abbās the Great (995–1038/1587–1629) came, he revised the book and brought it out in 999<sup>1</sup>/1590.

He has derived information from the following authors<sup>2</sup>:—

- (1) Amīr Sultān Harawī (or more properly Amīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn Sultān Ibrāhīm Amīnī Harawī, author of *Futūḥāt-i-Shāhī* or *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*);
- (2) Mīr Yahyā Sayfī Qazwīnī (or more properly Amīr Yahyā ibn 'Abdu'l-Latif al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī, author of *Lubbu't-Tawārīkh*—an abridgement of a general history from the earliest times to 948/1541, of which only a few pages deal with the reign of Shāh Ismā'il);
- (3) Mīr Maḥmūd ibn Mīr Khwānd (or more properly Amīr Maḥmūd ibn Khwānd Amīr, author of *Tārīkh-i-Shāh Ismā'il-wa-Shāh Ṭahmāsp*);
- (4) Khīyālī Tabrizī (—whose works I have not been able to discover);
- (5) Qāḍī Aḥmad Ghaffārī (or more properly Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qāḍī al-Ghaffārī, author of *Nusakh-i-Jahān Ārā*); and
- (6) Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū (author of *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh*).

The author has also derived information from Darwīsh Tawakkulī ibn Ismā'il commonly known as ibn Bazzāz the author of *Ṣafwatul-ṣ-Ṣafā*<sup>3</sup>.

After giving a brief account of Shāh Ismā'il's ancestors, the author has followed a strict chronological order, and has recorded all the important events year by year on the lines of *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh*. Besides facts, he borrows the very words of his authorities.

The historical value of this work is not great as it gives only a few additional facts of real importance.

(3) *Tārīkh-i-'Ālam Ārā-i-'Abbāsī* by Iskandar better known as Munshī. It is a very detailed history of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās the Great (995–1038/1587–1629) with a short account of his predecessors. The first volume of this work was completed in 1025/1616. The introduction to the first volume, which deals with the ancestors of Shāh 'Abbās the Great, alone concerns us.

The author has utilized the following authorities for the reign of Shāh Ismā'il and his ancestors:—

*Ṣafwatul-ṣ-Ṣafā*, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥwāl-i-Salāṭīn-i-Turkmān*, *Nafahātu'l-Uns*, *Futūḥāt-i-Amīnī*, *Ḥabību's-Siyar*, *Lubbu't-Tawārīkh*, *Nusakh-i-Jahān Ārā*, and *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ef. 3a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 2a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 6a.

<sup>4</sup> Fpp. 7, 14, 16, 10, 16, 20, 16 and 20 respectively.

The account is brief and to the point, but adds little to the information given by earlier authorities. There is the usual plagiarism noticeable in Persian histories. This work was lithographed at Tīhrān in 1314<sup>1</sup>/1896.

The following later works, though they specially deal with the Ṣafawīs, add nothing of value :—

- (1) *Rawḍatu's-Ṣafawīyya* by Mirzā Beg ibn Ḥasan Ḥasanī Junābādī (completed in 1038/1629).
- (2) *Khulāsa-i-Maḡāl* by Muḥammad Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad Yūsuf Qazwīnī. (An incomplete history of the Ṣafawīs up to the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl II, compiled in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II (1052-77/1642-66) and dedicated to him.)
- (3) *Zubdatu't-Twārikh* by Kamāl Khān ibn Jalāl Munajjim (completed in 1063/1653).
- (4) *Khuld-i-Barīn* (*Rawḍa Eighth*) by Muḥammad Yūsuf (completed in 1078/1667).
- (5) *Tārikh-i-Ismā'īl* (Author's name unknown; a very detailed history of the reign of *Shāh Ismā'īl* completed in the reign of Shāh Sulayman (1077-1106/1666-94). India Office Library possesses a MS. copy of this book and Sipāh Sālār Library, Tīhrān, possesses another. The historical value of this work is nil, as it is mere fiction and is full of incorrect and exaggerated facts.)
- (6) *Tārikh-i-Sultānī* by Sayyid Ḥusayn ibn Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī (completed in 1115/1703).

Similarly the works on general history by Indian authors hardly give new facts about the Ṣafawīs.

(2) *Supplement to the Affairs of Khurāsān and Transoxiana.*

(1) *Ḥabību's-Siyar*<sup>2</sup> (*Volume III, part III*). From this part only such portions are relevant to our purpose which deal with the reign of Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā and his successors; Ṣahīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur and Muḥammad Khān Shaybānī. The historical value of this part is great as the author was the eye-witness of most of the affairs of Khurāsān in general and its capital (Hirāt) in particular.

(2) *Bābur's Memoirs*. The name of the work is self-explanatory. The original is in Chaghatāy Turkī. It was translated into Persian by:—

- (1) Pāyanda Khān and Muḥammad Qulī in 996/1886 (—incomplete);
- (2) 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm ibn Bayram Khān (—completed in 998/1590);  
and
- (3) Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn Khwāfi in 998/1590 (—incomplete).

<sup>1</sup> Sp. 6 incorrectly states that the work is not published.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed note on *Ḥabību's-Siyar* see p. 8, supra.

The account begins from Ramaḍān. 899/June, 1494, and extends to Jumāda I. 937/Dec., 1530, but unfortunately five gaps occur in the *Memoirs*, namely:—

- (a) From the end of 908 to the end of 909 (1503-4);
- (b) From the beginning of 914 to the beginning of 925 (1508-19);
- (c) From the beginning of 926 to the beginning of 932 (1520-25);
- (d) A part of the year 934 (from April 2nd to September 18th, 1528) and
- (e) The years 936-37 (1529-30<sup>1</sup>).

We are not concerned with the period of the last two gaps, while the first three are beautifully supplemented by Mirzā Haydar's *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (described below).

The historical value of the *Memoirs* is admittedly great, as the author has given an exact, clear, and detailed account of all the important events in a strict chronological order<sup>2</sup>.

An English translation of this work was begun by Dr. John Leyden, and was revised and completed by W. Erskine. It was first printed in London in 1826. It was annotated and revised by Sir Lucus King and was then printed at Oxford in 1921.

(3) *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* by Muḥammad Haydar ibn Muḥammad Ḥusayn Gūrgān better known as Mirzā Haydar. It is a history of the Khāns of Mughūlistān and the Amīrs of Kāshghar from the time of Tughluq Timūr Khān to 952/1545, and also contains the author's own memoirs. The historical value of this work is great as its author was the eye-witness of most of the events, and had the opportunity of gathering facts from such persons who had participated in the battles. As far as the life of Bābur is concerned, it supplements the account left by Bābur himself in his *Memoirs*. The entire work was translated by Sir E. D. Ross, and was edited with commentary, notes, and map by N. Elias. It was published in London in 1895, and was re-issued in 1898.

(4) *Nuskha-i-Jāmiʿa-i-Marāsīl-i-Uluʿi-al-bāb*. This is a collection of letters which passed between the rulers of Persia and those of the neighbouring countries, and includes the royal diplomas from the time of Alp-Arslān Saljūqī (455-66/1063-73) to the reign of Shāh Abbās II (1052-77/1642-66) of the Ṣafawī dynasty.

This collection was compiled by al-Qāsim Īwūghlī, who was appointed by Shāh Ṣafī I (1038-52/1629-42) to the post of a door-keeper. The work was completed in the reign of Shāh Abbās II. The last portion of the first volume and the first part of the second volume (ff. 46a-75b of *B.M. MS., vol. 1683*) alone concern us. Most of these letters are contained in the first

<sup>1</sup>, Vol. I, Editor's preface, pp. ix-xi.

<sup>2</sup> or details see *ibid.*, pp. vii-ix.

volume of *Munsha'āt-i-Salāṭīn*<sup>1</sup> compiled and edited by Farīdūn Bey, and published at Constantinople in 1264/1848 and 1274/1858. Most of the letters are in Persian, while the rest are in Turkish or Arabic.

The historical value of these letters is great, but unfortunately most of them are undated, and some of them contain a most exaggerated and incorrect account of the events. (The letter of Shāh Ismā'il to Shaybānī Khān, the Uzbek, announcing his victory over 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr<sup>2</sup> serves as the best example.)

(3) *Supplement to the Account of Shāh Ismā'il's Relations with Turkey.*

(1) *Salīm Nāma* by Ḥakīmu'd-Dīn Idrīs ibn Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn 'Alī al-Bitlisī. This is a detailed history, in Persian prose and verse, of the reign of the Ottoman Sultān Salīm I (918–26/1512–20). The work was composed during the reign of Sultān Salīm I, but as the author died on Dhu'l-H. 7, 926<sup>3</sup>/Nov. 18, 1520, only two months after the death of Sultān Salīm I (Saturday, Shawwāl 9, 926<sup>4</sup>/Sept. 22, 1520), the history remained incomplete; till at the command of Sultān Sulaymān ibn Sultān Salīm I (926–74/1520–66), Abu'l Faḍl ibn Ḥakīmu'd-Dīn Idrīs collected his father's material, supplied the missing portions, and completed it in 974/1566 in the reign of Sultān Salīm II (974–82/1566–74)<sup>5</sup>.

The historical value of this history is exceptionally great, as the author, Ḥakīmu'd-Dīn Idrīs, was the eye-witness of the affairs of the State in general, and of the battle of Chāldirān in particular. After the victory and occupation of Tabriz, Ḥakīmu'd-Dīn Idrīs was ordered by Sultān Salīm to induce the petty rulers of Kurdistān to submit to the Sultān. He successfully carried out the mission, and in the course of two years the whole of the province of Diyār Bakr was captured by the Ottomans. He has given minute details of every event, and is indisputably the sole authority on the then Persia's relations with Turkey, for the accounts given by the Persian authors are at once brief and incorrect.

(2) *Munsha'āt-i-Salāṭīn*. This is a collection of State papers, compiled and edited by Farīdūn Bey in 982/1574. These letters were written by and to the Ottoman Sultāns, and their contemporary rulers, sons, ministers and provincial governors. Most of them are in Persian, and the rest are in Arabic or Turkish.

The historical value of these letters is undoubtedly great, as they supply facts, which are rare, and are not found in historical works. The remarkable feature is this that they clearly display the royal spirit of those times. (The letters of the Ottoman Sultān Salīm I to 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān Uzbek<sup>6</sup> and to Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafawī<sup>7</sup>, dated Muḥarram and Ṣafar, 920/Mar. and Apr.,

<sup>1</sup> For details see below.

<sup>3</sup> Mf. 41a.

<sup>6</sup> Npp. 346–349.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. MS., add 7688, ff. 71a–72b.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. 91.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 351–353.

<sup>5</sup> Mf. 32b.

1514 respectively, serve as the best examples.) It is a matter of misfortune that most of the letters are undated, but if they are carefully studied, the approximate dates can be deduced. This collection was printed in two volumes in Constantinople in 1264/1848, and was reprinted in 1274/1858. The first volume, which comes down to 966/1558-59, alone concerns us.

(4) *The Accounts of Contemporary Foreign Travellers.*

*A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia.* This work was issued by the Hakluyt Society, London, in 1873, together with "*Travels to Tanta and Persia*", under the name of "*Travels of Venetians in Persia*". This is the only work which supplies a few facts about Persia under Shāh Ismā'il, but as far as the actual history of Shāh Ismā'il is concerned, it is thoroughly unreliable and contains numerous serious mistakes. Only a few points observed by the Italian merchant himself, who visited Tabriz in 915/1509, can be accepted as true.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ANCESTORS OF SHĀH ISMĀ'IL

Shāh Ismā'il, as given below, is the fifth in descent from Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq, the descendant of the seventh Imām, Mūsā al-Kāẓim:

Abu'l-Muẓaffar *Shāh Ismā'il* ibn Sultān Ḥaydar ibn Sultān Junayd ibn Shaykh Ibrāhīm better known as Shaykh Shāh ibn Shaykh Khwāja 'Alī ibn Shaykh Sadru'd-Dīn Mūsā ibn *Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq* ibn Shaykh Aminu'd-Dīn Jibra'il ibn Shaykh Ṣāliḥ ibn Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn Rashīd ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn 'Awaḍ al-Khawāṣṣ ibn Fīrūz Shāh-i-Zarrīn Kulāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Sharaf Shāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il ibn Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Aḥmad al-A'rābī ibn Abū Muḥammad Qāsim ibn Abu'l-Qāsim Ḥamza ibn al-Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim<sup>1</sup>.

The earlier ancestors of Shāh Ismā'il were only pious people, and they spent their days without having obtained any worldly distinction. The

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 3, Bf. 2a, Cf. 196b, Ef. 4a and If. 7b-8a. Fp. 5 omits Khwāja 'Alī but gives his account at the proper place (see Fpp. 12-13). Gp. 10 differs from the above authorities in two places: firstly, it omits Shaykh Ṣāliḥ as the son of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad; and secondly, it gives Ṣāliḥ in place of Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn Rashīd. But in giving Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn Rashīd's short account on p. 16, it gives the name correctly as Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn Rashīd. (Also see *J.R.A.S. for July, 1921*, p. 397, footnote 1.) Mirzā Ṭāhir Waḥīd, author of '*Abbās Nāma*, the history of Shāh 'Abbās I (1052-77/1642-86) completed in 1073-74/1662-63 (ff. 13b-14a, Lytton Lib. 'Aligarh, Subhānu'llāh Khān Sec. MS.) while giving the full pedigree, agrees with the above authorities from Shāh Ismā'il to Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq, but from the latter to Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, he differs to a great extent, unfortunately without giving his authorities. He gives: "Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq ibn Sayyid Jibra'il ibn Quṭbu'd-Dīn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Awaḍ ibn Fīrūz Shāh ibn Mahdī ibn 'Alī ibn Abu'l-Qāsim ibn Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Imām Mūsā Kāẓim". A Ṭihārān MS. of the '*Abbās Nāma* (f. 9b) differs even from this, and gives: "Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq ibn Quṭbu'l-Awliyā Sayyid Jibra'il ibn Quṭbu'd-Dīn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Awaḍ ibn Shāh Fīrūz ibn Mahdī ibn 'Alī ibn Abu'l-Qāsim ibn Bābur ibn Ḥasan ibn Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Imām (Mūsā al-Kāẓim)"'. Hf. 1b agrees with the above authorities up to "Ismā'il" and then differs, giving: "Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-A'rābī". It further agrees with them up to "Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim". Sayyid Aḥmad Kasrawī Tabrizī has tried to prove that the Ṣafawīs are not the descendants of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, and hence they are not Sayyids (*Āyanda*, Vol. II, Nos. 5, 7 and 11, Ṭihārān, 1927-28).



first man, who, apart from his piety, became a strong and rich man, was Fīrūz Shāh-i-Zarrin Kūlāh.

*Fīrūz Shāh-i-Zarrin Kūlāh* was the custodian of the shrine of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim at Mashhad<sup>1</sup>. Sultān Aḥmad, a descendant of Ibrāhīm al-Adham, while intending to capture Mughān and Georgia, took Fīrūz Shāh along with him, and on reaching Ādharbāyjān, asked him to settle down at Ardabil to instruct the people of Mughān and the neighbouring places in the rules of Islām. Fīrūz Shāh spent most of his time as a missionary at Ardabil<sup>2</sup>. He then moved towards Gilān and settled down in a village, named Rangīn, where he ended his days in peace and prosperity<sup>3</sup>.

'*Awad al-Khawāṣṣ*. His name was Ismā'il, but he was better known as 'Awad al-Khawāṣṣ<sup>4</sup>. He succeeded his father, but left Rangīn and settled down in Isfaranjān, a village near Ardabil, and spent his life in peace<sup>5</sup>.

*Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ* succeeded his father. He is reported to have disappeared at the age of seven and returned after a lapse of seven years, and told that he had been carried away by "Jinns" who had instructed him in the Holy Qur'ān. He knew the Holy Qur'ān by heart, and acquired the title of "Ḥāfiẓ". He lived a pious life and instructed the people in the right path<sup>6</sup>.

*Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn Rashid*, the eldest son of Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ, succeeded his father<sup>7</sup>. He distributed all his property amongst the poor, dressed himself like a "darwish"<sup>8</sup>, and went to the village of Gilkhwarān<sup>9</sup>, where he devoted himself to agriculture<sup>10</sup>. He died at the age of seventy<sup>11</sup>.

*Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad* succeeded his father, and spent his days in peace till the irruption of the Georgians, whereupon, he migrated to Ardabil<sup>12</sup>. A short account of the Georgian irruption is as follows:—

Bukrāt Khān<sup>13</sup>, a Georgian chief<sup>14</sup>, set out with 12,000 men to punish Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad at Gilkhwarān, who was reported to have preached to the Christians to accept Islām<sup>15</sup>, and then to invade Ardabil. Thereupon, Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad fled to Ardabil with the whole of his family<sup>16</sup>, whom he hid in underground

<sup>1</sup> Hff. 2b-3a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 3a. Other authorities give different accounts. This is probably the most correct.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Hf. 3a.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Bf. 4b.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 4. Gp. 12 "Kalkhorān". (Also see Sp. 36, footnote 3.)

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Fp. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Ap. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Bf. 4b.

<sup>14</sup> Ap. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Bf. 4b.

<sup>16</sup> Ap. 4. Gp. 12 incorrectly includes Amīnu'd-Dīn Jibra'il, then only a month old, as the son of Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad. The child referred to here might be Amīnu'd-Dīn Jibra'il, the son of Shaykh Ṣāliḥ and the grandson of Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad. Sp. 37 makes the same incorrect statement.

cells<sup>1</sup>. Bukrāt Khān reached Gilkhwārān, and, having come to know of Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad's flight, hastened towards Ardabil<sup>2</sup>. He plundered the city<sup>3</sup> for three days<sup>4</sup>, and put several thousand<sup>5</sup> Muslims to the sword.

A youthful volunteer, who stood on guard at the cell in which Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad and his family were hidden, was attacked by a Georgian, but he killed the assailant, and closed the mouth of the cell by an earthenware jar. The other Georgians, attracted by the cry of the dying man, rushed to the spot, and put the volunteer to the sword. A little later, Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad came out of the cell<sup>6</sup> to inquire about the invaders<sup>7</sup>, and was attacked by the Georgians, who inflicted a severe wound on his neck, from which, however, he later on recovered<sup>8</sup>.

Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad died a few years after the birth<sup>9</sup> of his great-grandson<sup>10</sup> Shaykh Ṣafiyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq, which took place in 650<sup>11</sup>/1252-53; and Shaykh Ṣafiyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq used to relate that when Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad took him on his shoulders he used to put his four little fingers into the scar left by the sword wound<sup>12</sup> inflicted by the Georgians.

*Shaykh Ṣālīḥ*<sup>13</sup> succeeded his father, and spent his life quietly as a missionary<sup>14</sup>. He died at Gilkhwārān, and was buried there by his son Amīnu'd-Dīn Jibra'il<sup>15</sup>.

*Amīnu'd-Dīn Jibra'il* succeeded his father Shaykh Ṣālīḥ<sup>16</sup>, and took to agriculture. He adopted Khwāja Kamālu'd-Dīn 'Arab Shāh Ardabilī as his spiritual director<sup>17</sup>. At the age of thirty, he went to Shirāz, and returned to his native place after the lapse of ten years<sup>18</sup>. He then married a lady, named Dawlatī, daughter of 'Umar<sup>19</sup> ibn Jamāl<sup>20</sup>, of Bāruq<sup>21</sup>, a village near Ardabil<sup>22</sup>. She gave birth to a son<sup>23</sup>, in 650<sup>24</sup>/1252-53, who was named Shaykh Ṣafiyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq, who later on became a great saint<sup>25</sup>, and from whom the *Ṣafawī dynasty* derives its name.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 4b.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 5a.

<sup>5</sup> Gp. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Hf. 3b.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 5a.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 5a. Gp. 14 and Hf. 4a incorrectly give "grandson". Sp. 37 makes the same incorrect statement.

<sup>11</sup> Gp. 16.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> Ap. 4. Gp. 14 and Sp. 37 both incorrectly omit this name, although the latter, while giving the full pedigree on p. 32, footnote 1, includes Shaykh Ṣālīḥ as the son of Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad.

<sup>14</sup> App. 4-5.

<sup>15</sup> Bf. 5b.

<sup>16</sup> Ap. 5. Gp. 14 and Sp. 37 incorrectly give Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad.

<sup>17</sup> Gp. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Bff. 5b-6a.

<sup>19</sup> Ap. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Gp. 15.

<sup>21</sup> Ap. 5. Gp. 15 gives "Bārūq".

<sup>22</sup> Gp. 15.

<sup>23</sup> Ap. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Gp. 16. Hf. 5a incorrectly gives "651".

<sup>25</sup> Ap. 5.

The author of *Silsilātu'n-Nasab-i-Şafawiyya* makes the following statements in support of the date of birth of this great Shaykh:—

“At the time of the birth of Şafiiyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq (i.e. in 650/1252-53) Shaykh Shamsu'd-Dīn Tabrizī had been dead five years, Shaykh Muḥyi'd-Dīn Ibnu'l 'Arabī twelve years, and Shaykh Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā thirty-two years. He was twenty-two years old on the death of Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī, and forty-one on that of Shaykh (Muṣliḥu'd-Dīn) Sā'dī Shirāzī<sup>1</sup>. He was five years old when Hūlākū Khān (the Mongol) conquered Persia<sup>2</sup>.

Aminu'd-Dīn Jibra'il died when Shaykh Şafiiyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq was six years old<sup>3</sup> (i.e. in 656/1258), and was buried at Gilkhwārān<sup>4</sup>. He left six sons, namely: Muḥammad, Şalāḥu'd-Dīn, Ismā'il, Şafiiyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq, Ya'qūb and Fakhru'd-Dīn, and a daughter older than Şafiiyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq<sup>5</sup>.

Shaykh Şafiiyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq became religious-minded at a very early age. He saw visions<sup>6</sup> and held conversation with the unseen world<sup>7</sup>.

Eventually, the fire of divine love flared up in his heart, and he began a search for a spiritual guide<sup>8</sup>. He used to go to the tombs of Shaykh Farrukh Ardabīlī, Shaykh Abū Sa'id and Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Aharī, and spent his time in offering prayers.

A few years later, he heard the fame of Shaykh Najību'd-Dīn Buzghūsh Shirāzī<sup>9</sup>, and decided to see him. Thus, on the pretext of seeing his elder brother Şalāḥu'd-Dīn at Shirāz, he took leave from his mother<sup>10</sup>, but only reached there to find Shaykh Najību'd-Dīn Buzghūsh<sup>11</sup> dead. He took repose in the monastery of Shaykh Abū 'Abdu'llāh-i-Khafif<sup>12</sup>, and read the commentary of the Holy Qur'ān from Raḍīu'd-Dīn<sup>13</sup>. He also met Shaykh Muṣliḥu'd-Dīn Sā'dī<sup>14</sup> the famous poet, but his object was to find a perfect spiritual guide. Thus he was advised by Amīr 'Abdu'llah, a notable saint,

<sup>1</sup> Gp. 16. From this it is concluded that these persons died in 645/1247, 638/1240, 618/1221, 672/1273 and 691/1291 respectively. This is further corroborated by the dates of the deaths of these persons given in Qpp. 416, 504, 379, 413 and 542 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16. It is concluded from this that Hūlākū Khān conquered Persia in 655/1257. This is also further corroborated by the date of this event given in *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushāy-i-Jwaynī*, Vol. III (London, 1931), pp. 36-58.

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 6a.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 197a.

<sup>5</sup> Gp. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Gp. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Fp. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 6.

<sup>11</sup> He died in 678/1279 (Qp. 422). Bf. 6b incorrectly states that Shaykh Şafiiyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq was 20 years old when he was at Shirāz. It can easily be concluded from the date of death of Shaykh Najību'd-Dīn Buzghūsh that Shaykh Şafiiyyu'd-Dīn was 28 years old when he reached Shirāz, for he was born in 650/1252-53.

<sup>12</sup> Ap. 6. He died in 331/942 (Qp. 223).

<sup>13</sup> Bff. 6b-7a.

<sup>14</sup> Ap. 6. He died in 691/1291 (Qp. 542).

to proceed to Gilān to meet Shaykh Zāhid <sup>1</sup> Gilānī, the most perfect guide, whereupon, he took leave from his brother, and returned to his native place.

Four years elapsed before Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq was able to trace the native place of Shaykh Zāhid. A person, named Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, who had gone from Gilkhwārān to Gilān, reported that Shaykh Zāhid was in the village of Hilya-Karān in Gilān. It was winter, but Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq left for Hilya-Karān <sup>2</sup>, on Sha'bān 27 <sup>3</sup>, 683 4/ Nov. 8, 1284, reached there on Ramaḍān <sup>5</sup> 1, 683/Nov. 12, 1284, and was cordially received by Shaykh Zāhid. He spent a strictly religious and mystical life according to the directions of Shaykh Zāhid, who was so pleased with him that he gave him one of his daughters, named Fāṭima, in marriage, and nominated him his successor in place of his own son Jamālu'd-Dīn 'Alī. Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq returned to Ardabīl in Shaykh Zāhid's lifetime, but he paid frequent visits to him in Gilān, and Shaykh Zāhid also often visited his disciple at Ardabīl. Shaykh Zāhid died <sup>6</sup> in Rajab <sup>7</sup>, 700/March, 1301, and was buried by Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq at Siyāward <sup>8</sup> in Gilān. Thereupon, Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq returned to Ardabīl, and was accepted as the head of the Order, and spent his life in directing people in the right path <sup>9</sup>.

Towards the end of his life <sup>10</sup>, he nominated his second son, Shaykh Ṣadrud-Dīn Mūsā <sup>11</sup>, who was born on Shawwāl 1 <sup>12</sup>, 704 <sup>13</sup>/Apr. 26, 1305, his successor <sup>14</sup>, because his eldest son, named Shaykh Muḥyi'd-Dīn, had predeceased him in 724/1323. He performed the pilgrimage <sup>15</sup>, and died on Monday, Muḥarram 12, 735/Sept. 12, 1334 at Ardabīl <sup>16</sup>. He left three other sons, namely: Abū Saīd, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn and Sharafu'd-Dīn, who died soon after him. He also left a daughter whom he had given in marriage to Shamsu'd-Dīn ibn Shaykh Zāhid <sup>17</sup>.

*Shaykh Ṣadrud-Dīn Mūsā* succeeded his father <sup>18</sup> in 735/1334 at the age of thirty-one <sup>19</sup>. His influence, like that of his father, on his followers was great, and they used to visit him at Ardabīl in large numbers <sup>20</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 6. Shaykh Zāhid ibn Shaykh Rawshan Amīr ibn Bābīl ibn Shaykh Bundār al-Kurdi as-Sanjānī. His full name was Tāju'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm. He was the disciple of Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Gilānī (Cf. 197b and Hf. 7b give "Tabrizi") who was the disciple of Abu'l Qāsim Junayd Baghdādī (d. 273/886-87. Qpp. 81-82), whose chain of teachers reached 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (Ap. 6).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 7a.

<sup>4</sup> This is the approximate date, as Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq left Shirāz after the death of Shaykh Najibu'd-Dīn Buzghūsh which occurred in 678/1279. Gp. 28 incorrectly states that he was 25 years old at this time.

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 7b. This date is doubtful. Considering the distance between the two places and the troubles which he suffered on the way (Gp. 24) it seems impossible for him to reach Shaykh Zāhid's native place in such a short time.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Gp. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 6. Other authorities give "Siyāwrūd".

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Gp. 39.

<sup>11</sup> Ap. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Hf. 7b.

<sup>13</sup> Gp. 39.

<sup>14</sup> Ap. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Gp. 36.

<sup>16</sup> Ap. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Gp. 36.

<sup>18</sup> Ap. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Gp. 39.

<sup>20</sup> Ap. 9.

Malik-i-Ashraf<sup>1</sup>, who was formerly a devotee of Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dīn Mūsā, so much so that he would kiss the Shaykh's feet whenever he went to see him, became suspicious of the Shaykh's increasing influence, and summoned him to Tabriz. Failing in his attempt to poison the Shaykh, he kept him in confinement<sup>2</sup> for three months<sup>3</sup>; but finally, warned in a dream, he released the Shaykh, who returned to Ardabil. Subsequently, the tyrant tried to recapture the Shaykh, and commissioned Urghūn Shāh for the purpose, but the Shaykh escaped to Gilān<sup>4</sup>.

Other holy men were also ill-treated by this tyrant and left Ādharbāyjān. Khwāja Shaykh Kajachī, one of the leading men of Tabriz, fled to Shirāz, and from there to Syria. Qāḍī Muḥyi'd-Dīn Barda'ī took refuge at Sarāi Barga in Dasht-i-Qipchāq. One Friday, he went to the Jāmi' Mosque, and after the "Khutba", he described the tyrannies of Malik-i-Ashraf so vividly that Jānī Beg Khān ibn Ūzbeg Khān<sup>5</sup> determined to invade Ādharbāyjān, and punish the tyrant. Accordingly, Jānī Beg Khān set out<sup>6</sup>, in 758/1356, with a large army, invaded Ādharbāyjān, captured the tyrant near Tabriz and put him to death. He sent for Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dīn Mūsā, received him with great honour and then allowed him to go to Ardabil<sup>7</sup>. Jānī Beg Khān left his son Bardi Beg Khān with 50,000 men at Tabriz, and himself returned to Dasht-i-Qipchāq, along with Timūr Tāsh and Sultān Bakht, the son and daughter of Malik-i-Ashraf<sup>8</sup>.

Towards the end of his life, Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dīn Mūsā nominated his son Shaykh Khwāja 'Alī his successor<sup>9</sup>, performed the pilgrimage<sup>10</sup>, and died in 794/1391. He left two other sons, namely: Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn, who died childless, and Jamālu'd-Dīn, who left a daughter, named Khān-Zāda Pāshā, who was married to Shaykh Khwāja 'Alī's son Shaykh Ibrāhīm better known as Shaykh Shāh<sup>11</sup>. His famous disciple was the poet<sup>12</sup> Mu'īnu'd-Dīn 'Alī<sup>13</sup> Tabrizī better known as Qāsim-i-Anwār<sup>14</sup>, who died in 837<sup>15</sup>/1433.

*Shaykh Khwāja 'Alī* succeeded his father<sup>16</sup> in 794<sup>17</sup>/1391, and spent a religious life like his ancestors in directing people in the right path<sup>18</sup>.

Towards the end of his life, Shaykh Khwāja 'Alī nominated his son, Shaykh Ibrāhīm better known as Shaykh Shāh, his successor, and went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Shaykh Ibrāhīm, being unable to bear the pangs

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 10. Ap. 10 and If. 18a incorrectly call him "the ruler of Ādharbāyjān". Gp. 41 incorrectly calls him "the King of Persia". Malik-i-Ashraf ibn Amīr Chūbān was the Commander-in-Chief of Anūshīrwān Khān (745-58/1344-57) the last of the Ilak Khānī rulers of Ādharbāyjān. (*Howorth's Hist. of the Mongols, part III, London, 1888, pp. 585-653.*)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Gp. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ef. 7a. He was of the line of Golden Horde and was the ruler of Dasht-i-Qipchāq (741-58/1340-57). (*Howorth's Hist. of the Mongols, part III, London, 1888, pp. 173-79.*)

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 7a.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Ef. 8b.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Gp. 45.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>12</sup> Qp. 535.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. 198a.

<sup>14</sup> Qp. 535.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. 198a.

<sup>16</sup> Ap. 11.

<sup>17</sup> His father died this year.

<sup>18</sup> Ap. 11.

of separation, followed suit and joined his father en route. The two together performed the pilgrimage, and on their return journey, Shaykh Khwāja 'Alī fell ill, and died <sup>1</sup> on Tuesday, Rajab 18, 830 <sup>2</sup>/May 14, 1427 in Palestine <sup>3</sup>, where his tomb is known as the "Tomb of Sayyid 'Alī 'Ajamī" <sup>4</sup>. Shaykh Ibrāhīm returned to Ardabil <sup>5</sup>.

He left two other sons, namely: Jā'far and 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān <sup>6</sup>.

*Shaykh Ibrāhīm better known as Shaykh Shāh* succeeded his father in 830/1427. He spent a quiet and pious life like his ancestors <sup>7</sup>, and nothing more is known about him save that at the end of his life, he remained ill for a long time <sup>8</sup>, nominated his son Sulṭān Junayd his successor, and died <sup>9</sup> in 851 <sup>10</sup>/1447.

He left five other sons, namely: Abū Sa'īd, Sayyid Aḥmad, Sayyid Bāyazīd, Khwāja Jān Mīrzā and Ibrāhīm Khwājagī <sup>11</sup>.

*Sulṭān Junayd* succeeded his father in 851 <sup>12</sup>/1447, and his fame for piety attracted a large number of followers to Ardabil. They, however, aroused the envy of Jahān Shāh <sup>13</sup> ibn Qarā Yūsuf ibn Qarā Muḥammad, of the Qāra-Quyūnlū (Black Sheep) dynasty <sup>14</sup>, and the ruler of Ādharbāyjān and the two 'Irāqs, with his capital at Tabrīz <sup>15</sup>, who wrote a strong letter to Sulṭān Junayd, ordering him to disperse his followers, and forbade them from coming to him in future <sup>16</sup>, or to leave Ardabil <sup>17</sup>, or to prepare himself to withstand his attack <sup>18</sup>. Thereupon, Sulṭān Junayd left for Diyār Bakr with his followers along with their families. Amīr Ḥasan Beg <sup>19</sup> ibn 'Alī Beg ibn Qarā 'Uthmān, of the Āq-Quyūnlū (White Sheep) dynasty <sup>20</sup>, who was the ruler of Diyār Bakr, and was opposed to Jahān Shāh, honourably received Sulṭān Junayd at Ḥiṣn Kayf, and gave his sister, named Khadīja Begum, to him in marriage <sup>21</sup>.

Sulṭān Junayd spent a few years at Ḥiṣn Kayf and then returned to Ardabil <sup>22</sup>. Jahān Shāh had, in the meanwhile, picked up relationship with

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Gp. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 17a.

<sup>4</sup> Gp. 45.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Gpp. 49-50.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Bf. 17a.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Gp. 65. Sp. 47 incorrectly states that Shaykh Ibrāhīm better known as Shaykh Shāh is even omitted entirely in succession by the *Tārīkh-i-'Ālam Ārā-i-'Abbāsī*. As a matter of fact "*Tārīkh-i-'Ālam Ārā-i-'Abbāsī*" devotes about half a page to him (see Fp. 13).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> His father died this year. Up. 263 incorrectly calls him "the son of (Shaykh) Khwāja 'Alī".

<sup>13</sup> App. 11-12.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 187b-189b.

<sup>15</sup> Ap. 12. Df. 17b incorrectly calls him "the King of Persia".

<sup>16</sup> Bff. 18a-19a.

<sup>17</sup> Ap. 12.

<sup>18</sup> Bf. 19a.

<sup>19</sup> Ap. 12. (For his detailed account see Appendix A, pp. 105-106, infra.)

<sup>20</sup> Cf. 190b-92a.

<sup>21</sup> Ap. 12. Cf. 198b incorrectly states that Jahān Shāh gave his sister Khadīja Begum to Sulṭān Junayd.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12. Vp. 241 incorrectly states that being prevented from returning to Ardabil, Shaykh Junayd lived at Shirwān.

Sultān Junayd's uncle, Shaykh Jā'far, who was opposed to Sultān Junayd, and had appointed him controller of the affairs of the shrine of Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq<sup>1</sup>. Having come to know of Sultān Junayd's return and his relationship with Amīr Ḥasan Beg, Jahān Shāh again decided to kill Sultān Junayd, or failing that to exile him. This ill news filled Sultān Junayd with despair, and, with the object of courting martyrdom, he raised an army of 10,000 of his followers, and set out to invade the lands of the infidels<sup>2</sup> of Trebizond<sup>3</sup> and Charkas<sup>4</sup>, that lay beyond the province of Shirwān.

When Khalīlu'llāh<sup>5</sup> ibn Shaykh Ibrāhīm<sup>6</sup>, the Shirwān Shāh, came to know of Sultān Junayd's advance<sup>7</sup>, he came with 30,000 men, including 5,000 sent by Abu'l-Mā'sūm Khān, governor of Ṭabarsarān<sup>8</sup>.

Both armies met on the banks of the river Kur<sup>9</sup>, and a severe battle followed in which Sultān Junayd lost his life<sup>10</sup>. His body was brought out from the battlefield by some of his followers, and was buried at Ṭabarsarān<sup>11</sup>. This happened in 860/1455, and this was the first battle fought by this family in the cause of religion<sup>12</sup>.

He left two sons<sup>13</sup>, namely: Sultān Haydar (nephew of Amīr Ḥasan Beg) who succeeded him<sup>14</sup>, and Khwāja Muḥammad whose mother was a Circassian slave girl<sup>15</sup>.

*Sultān Haydar* succeeded his father<sup>16</sup> in 860<sup>17</sup>/1455, and started his mission of instructing people in the right path on the lines of his ancestors.

His maternal uncle Amīr Ḥasan Beg put Jahān Shāh<sup>18</sup> to death in 872/1468, and became the ruler of Ādharbāyjān and the two 'Irāqs. On account of the love which Amīr Ḥasan Beg<sup>19</sup> and his wife Saljūq Shāh Begum<sup>20</sup> had for the pious family of Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq, he gave his daughter, named Ḥalīma Begī Āgha<sup>21</sup> better known as 'Ālam Shāh Begum<sup>22</sup>, to his nephew Sultān Haydar in marriage. Three sons were born

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 198b.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 198b.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 19b.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 198b.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Bf. 20a.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 20a. Ap. 12 gives "Ṭabarsarān" on the margin.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 12. Vp. 241 incorrectly states that he was killed in a local skirmish.

<sup>11</sup> Bf. 20a. Later authorities give a village named "Qarūyāl".

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 199a.

<sup>13</sup> Gp. 67.

<sup>14</sup> Ap. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Gp. 67.

<sup>16</sup> Ap. 12.

<sup>17</sup> His father died this year.

<sup>18</sup> Ap. 13. He ruled for 31 years (841-72/1437-68) (Rp. 253).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. 199a.

<sup>21</sup> Ap. 13.

<sup>22</sup> Bf. 20b. According to another account her name was Martha, and she was the daughter of Despina Caton, who was the daughter of Calo Johannes, the last (but one) Christian emperor of Trebizond, of the noble house of Comneni (*Travels in Persia by Caterino Zeno*, pp. 14, 42 and iv, included in the volume named *Travels of the Venetians in Persia*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1873).

of this marriage<sup>1</sup>, namely: Sultān 'Alī Mirzā better known as Sultān 'Alī Pādīshāh, Ibrāhīm Mirzā<sup>2</sup> and Ismā'il Mirzā, of whom the last was born on Tuesday, Rajab 25, 892<sup>3</sup>/July 17, 1487, and later became famous as *Shāh Ismā'il, the Founder of the Ṣafawī Dynasty*.

Sultān Ḥaydar made a scarlet cap of twelve gores, and ordered all his followers to make their head-dress after this fashion, wherefore, his followers were called "Qizil-Bāshes" (the Red-Heads).

He was a zealot, and, on assuming power, collected an army<sup>4</sup> of 12,000<sup>5</sup> followers, nominated his eldest son, Sultān 'Alī Mirzā, his successor<sup>6</sup>, and marched against the infidels<sup>7</sup> of Charkas and Dāghistān<sup>8</sup> by way of Shirwān.

Farrukh Yasār ibn Khalīlū'llāh, the Shirwān Shāh, reported<sup>9</sup> to Ya'qūb Mirzā<sup>10</sup> ibn Amīr Ḥasan Beg, his son-in-law<sup>11</sup> and the ruler of Ādharbāyjān (who also envied the increasing power of Sultān Ḥaydar), that the attack of Sultān Ḥaydar on Shirwān<sup>12</sup> was to avenge the death of his father<sup>13</sup>, and a prelude to the conquest of Ādharbāyjān. Whereupon, Ya'qūb Mirzā sent<sup>14</sup> Sulaymān Beg<sup>15</sup>, with 4,000 horsemen, to reinforce the Shirwān army.

In the meanwhile, Sultān Ḥaydar had passed through Shakī, which lies to the north of Shirwān, and had encamped in the neighbourhood<sup>16</sup> of the fort of Tīmūr Qāpī (or Darband)<sup>17</sup>. This fort, though considered impregnable, was attacked by Sultān Ḥaydar, and a tower had already fallen, when one of his followers, named Qarā Pīr Beg Qājār, announced the arrival of the Shirwān Shāh along with the contingents of Sulaymān Beg. This made Sultān Ḥaydar fall back on Ṭabarsarān<sup>18</sup>.

Both sides arranged their armies in battle array. Sultān Ḥaydar appointed Qarā Pīr Beg Qājār to command the right wing and Husayn Beg Shāmlū the left, while he himself commanded the centre. On the other side, the Shirwān Shāh appointed Abu'l Mā'sūm Khān, the governor of Ṭabarsarān, on the right, and Sulaymān Beg on the left, while he himself took his stand in the centre<sup>19</sup>. A fierce battle ensued in which Sultān Ḥaydar lost

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 20b.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 13. Sp. 21, footnote 3, incorrectly states he was born on Rajab 5, 892/June 27, 1487.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Np. 304.

<sup>6</sup> Bf. 23b.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Bf. 21b.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 16.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16. (For his detailed account see Appendix A, pp. 106-107, *infra*.) Up. 264 incorrectly calls him "the Ruler of Persia".

<sup>11</sup> Fp. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Ap. 16.

<sup>13</sup> Bf. 21b.

<sup>14</sup> Ap. 16.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16. Bf. 22a gives "Sulaymān Bijan Ūghlī".

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>17</sup> For the description of this fort see p. 57, *infra*.

<sup>18</sup> Ap. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Bf. 22b.



his life <sup>1</sup>. This happened on Tuesday, Rajab 20, 893 <sup>2</sup>/July 1, 1488. Sultān Ḥaydar was buried at Ṭabarsarān <sup>3</sup>, and twenty-two years later (i.e. in the middle of 915/end of 1509) his body was brought to Ardabil by the orders of his worthy son Shāh Ismā'il and was buried by the side of his ancestors <sup>4</sup>. Besides the above-mentioned three sons, he also left Muḥammad Mirzā, Sulaymān Mirzā, Ḥasan Mirzā and Dā'ūd Mirzā <sup>5</sup>.

Sultān 'Alī Mirzā better known as Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh succeeded his father <sup>6</sup> in 893 <sup>7</sup>/1488, and a large number of his followers came to Ardabil to receive his blessings.

Ya'qūb Mirzā, though he suspected the son of Sultān Ḥaydar of avenging the death of his father <sup>8</sup> spared him his life for the sake of Ḥalīma Begī Āghā (mother of Sultān 'Alī Mirzā <sup>9</sup> and sister of Ya'qūb Mirzā), but sent one of his generals, at the head of a big contingent, to Ardabil to capture the three sons together with the wife of Sultān Ḥaydar, and to hand them over to Mansūr Beg Parnāk, governor of Fārs, to be imprisoned in the fort of Istakhr. This was effected <sup>10</sup> (about the end of Rabi' II, 894 <sup>11</sup>/end of March, 1489). The prisoners remained in custody for nearly four years and a half <sup>12</sup>, till the end of Shawwāl, 898 <sup>13</sup>/beginning of August, 1493, when Rustam Mirzā <sup>14</sup> ibn Maḥsūd Beg ibn Amīr Ḥasan Beg, the nephew of Ḥalīma Begī Āghā, and the ruler of Adharbāyjān, released them <sup>15</sup>, and summoned them to Tabriz. He did so in order to send Sultān 'Alī Mirzā against Bāy-sunqur Mirzā <sup>16</sup> ibn Ya'qūb Mirzā, who had succeeded his father on the throne of Adharbāyjān in the middle of Ṣafar, 896 <sup>17</sup>/end of Dec., 1491; and, who, towards the end of Rajab, 897 <sup>18</sup>/May, 1492, had fled before Rustam

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Gp. 68. Bf. 23b and Sp. 21 incorrectly state that he was killed in A.H. 895 and A.D. 1490 respectively. Df. 11b and Gp. 68 incorrectly state that he was twenty years old at this time. He succeeded his father 32 years back in 860/1455 (see p. 24, supra).

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 17. Tp. 323 and Up. 264 incorrectly state that his remains were interred at Ardabil. Vp. 241 incorrectly states that his tomb at Ardabil became a place of pilgrimage.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 57, infra.

<sup>5</sup> Dp. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 17.

<sup>7</sup> His father died this year.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 24a.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 17.

<sup>11</sup> This date is concluded from the fact that they were released in the end of Shawwāl, 898/beginning of Aug., 1493, after nearly four years and a half (Ef. 14a, Cf. 199a.) Fp. 16 incorrectly gives "896".

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 199a.

<sup>13</sup> Ef. 14a.

<sup>14</sup> Ap. 19. (For his detailed account see Appendix A, p. 107, infra.)

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 19. Tp. 323, Up. 264, and Vp. 241 incorrectly state that they escaped.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 19. (For his detailed account see Appendix A, p. 107, infra.)

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. 194a.

Mirzā from Tabriz to Shirwān, and was now trying to invade and recover Ādharbāyjān by the help of an army supplied by<sup>1</sup> his maternal grandfather<sup>2</sup> Farrukh Yasār, the Shirwān Shāh<sup>3</sup>.

Rustam Mirzā received Sultān 'Alī Mirzā with great honour and conferred on him the title of "Pādishāh"<sup>4</sup>. Hearing of his release, the followers of Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh poured into Tabriz to kiss the feet of their master, whereupon, Rustam Mirzā requested Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh to march against Bāysunqur Mirzā.

Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh, together with Ayba Sultān, the commander-in-chief of Rustam Mirzā, advanced against Bāysunqur Mirzā, and reaching the ford of the river Kur they saw the hostile army on the opposite bank of the river. No action was taken by either side for a few days and both armies returned home without fighting a decisive battle<sup>5</sup>.

In the beginning of Dhu'l-Q., 898<sup>6</sup>/middle of August, 1493, Kūsa Hājji Bāyandar, governor of Isfahān, revolted against Rustam Mirzā and read the "Khutba" in Bāysunqur Mirzā's name. Encouraged by this news, Bāysunqur Mirzā again set out from Shirwān to invade Ādharbāyjān. Rustam Mirzā, finding himself attacked on two sides, again requested Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh to take the field. Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh despatched Qarā Piri Beg Qājār against Kūsa Hājji Bāyandar, while he himself, together with Ayba Sultān, marched against Bāysunqur Mirzā, and encountered him near Āhar and Mishkīn<sup>7</sup>. Both sides arranged their armies for the battle. Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh appointed Husayn Beg Shāmlū and Rustam Beg Qarāmāni on the right, Dada Beg Tālish and Khādīm Beg Khalifa on the left, and Ayba Sultān the leader of the skirmishing party, while he himself commanded the centre. On the other side, Bāysunqur Mirzā appointed Shaykh Shāh ibn Farrukh Yasār on the right, Malik Salīm on the left, and he himself took his stand in the centre<sup>8</sup>. A severe contest followed in which Bāysunqur Mirzā lost his life and Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh won the day<sup>9</sup>.

In the meantime, Qarā Piri Beg Qājār had encountered Kūsa Hājji Bāyandar in a battle near Darguzīn, in which the latter lost his life. The news of both victories reached Rustam Mirzā the same night at Tabriz<sup>10</sup>.

When Rustam Mirzā got rid of his rivals, he allowed Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh, with his brothers and mother, to go to Ardabil. Accordingly, they

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 194a. Ap. 19 incorrectly calls him his "father-in-law". Farrukh Yasār, the Shirwān Shāh, was the "father-in-law" of Ya'qūb Mirzā (see p. 25, supra).

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 26a.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 194a.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Bf. 26b.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 19. This event took place in Dhu'l-Q., 898/Aug., 1493, as has been given above. A on the margin of p. 19 incorrectly gives the date of Bāysunqur Mirzā's death as "899".

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

went home, and Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh resumed the work as the head of the Order, and innumerable devotees came to him in a short time. This roused the suspicion of Rustam Mirzā, who had Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh and his brothers conveyed to his camp<sup>1</sup>, where strong guards were posted on them in order to completely cut them off from their devotees, who daily used to come to the camp in large numbers<sup>2</sup>.

At last, in the end<sup>3</sup> of 899<sup>4</sup>/middle of 1494, when Rustam Mirzā was leaving his winter-quarters of Khūy, he conceived a plan of putting Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh to death. The same night this news reached Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh, who, in the company of his brothers<sup>5</sup>, and chief devotees, like Husayn Beg Lala, Dada Beg Tālish, Qarā Piri Beg Qājār and Ilyās Beg Ayghūr Ūghli, fled instantly towards Ardabil<sup>6</sup>. Rustam Mirzā heard of their flight the next morning, and despatched<sup>7</sup> Husayn Beg 'Alī Khānī and Ayba Sultān<sup>8</sup> at the head of 5,000 men<sup>9</sup>, to capture the fugitives<sup>10</sup> before they succeeded in entering Ardabil<sup>11</sup>.

On his arrival at Shamāsi<sup>12</sup>, a village near Ardabil, Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh came to know by his spiritual insight that on that day he would have to drink the cup of martyrdom at the hands of his enemies, and, consequently, he sent for his chief devotees and told them the sad news; but asked them not to be disheartened, for the banner of Ismā'il Mirzā's sovereignty would soon rise. He then took off his turban and placed it on Ismā'il Mirzā's head<sup>13</sup>, bound his girdle on Ismā'il Mirzā, nominated him his successor, and laid on him the obligation of avenging his death, and that of his father and grandfather. He then selected seven men, including Husayn Beg Lala, Qarā Piri Beg Qājār and Dada Beg Tālish, and ordered them to proceed to Ardabil with his brothers<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 20. Bf. 27a, Fp. 17 and Hf. 16b incorrectly give "Tabriz".

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 199b.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. 20. Cf. 199b incorrectly gives "898". The correct date should be "the end of 899/middle of 1494", for Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh fought with Bāysunqur Mirzā in Dhu'l-Q., 898/Aug., 1493, i.e. almost the end of A.H. 898. He was then allowed to go to Ardabil, where he spent some time, and was again conveyed to Rustam Mirzā's camp, where also he spent some time. Moreover in the summer, i.e. the end of A.H. 898 Rustam Mirzā was at Tabriz, where he received the news of the victories, while here he is stated as "leaving the winter-quarters of Khūy".

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20. Fp. 18 and Hf. 16b incorrectly state that he fled from "Tabriz".

<sup>6</sup> Bf. 28a.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 20.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 28b.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Bf. 28b.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 28b. Cf. 199b gives "Bārūq". Fp. 18 incorrectly gives "Shamāsi".

<sup>13</sup> Ap. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Bf. 28b.

The moment this was accomplished, the enemies appeared on the scene. Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh<sup>1</sup>, together with 300 followers<sup>2</sup> who had joined him en route, fought with utmost bravery, but the unequal contest was soon over<sup>3</sup>; and his dead body was brought to Ardabil by his mother's orders, and was buried by the side of his ancestors<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ap. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 29a. Fp. 18 and Hf. 16b give "700".

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 29a. This event took place in "the end of 899/middle of 1494". A on the margin of p. 20 incorrectly gives the date of Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh's death as "the beginning of 898" (end of 1492). At that time he was undergoing imprisonment in the fort of Istakhr in Fārs. The actual release was effected in the end of Shawwāl, 898/beginning of Aug., 1493 (see p. 26, supra). Cf. 199b also incorrectly gives the date as "898". Bf. 29a, Dpp. 2-3 and Sp. 50 give the date of his death as "900/1494-95". This date is untenable: firstly, it cannot be the beginning of 900, because even Muḥarram 1st falls on Oct. 2, of 1494, and this time does not correspond with that of "leaving the winter-quarters of Khūy"; and secondly, it cannot be the end of 900, because in this way the time that passes from the death of Bāysunqur Mirzā (i.e. Dhu'l-Q., 898, after which Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh was allowed to go to Ardabil) to the death of Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh becomes nearly two years, and Rustam Mirzā being afraid of Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh's waxing power, firstly, at Ardabil; and secondly, in his (i.e. Rustam Mirzā's) camp, could not have allowed so much time to pass in getting rid of so powerful a rival. Sp. 21 incorrectly states that Sultān 'Alī (Pādishāh) fell in battle "about A.D. 1495". Up. 264 incorrectly states that Ibrāhīm Mirzā was also slain in this battle. Actually, Ibrāhīm Mirzā, along with his younger brother Ismā'il Mirzā, had left for Ardabil before the commencement of the battle. Fp. 18 incorrectly states that Husyan Beg Lala and Dada Beg Ṭalish brought the dead body of Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh to Ardabil. They had already left for Ardabil with the princes before the commencement of the battle.

## CHAPTER III

### *ISMĀ'IL MĪRZĀ'S EARLY LIFE AND HIS STRUGGLE FOR THE THRONE*

#### (1) *Ismā'il Mīrzā's Childhood and His Flight to Gilān.*

Ismā'il Mīrzā was born on Tuesday, Rajab 25, 892<sup>1</sup>/July 17, 1487. He lost his father, Sultān Ḥaydar, in the campaign against Farrukh Yasār, the Shirwān Shāh, at Ṭabarsarān, on Tuesday, Rajab 20, 893<sup>2</sup>/July 1, 1488, when he was only a year old<sup>3</sup>. He was imprisoned, along with his mother and his elder brothers, in the fort of Istakhr in Fārs, in the end of Rabi', II, 894/end of March, 1489, by the orders of Ya'qūb Mīrzā, ruler of Ādharbāyjan; and after a detention of nearly four years and a half, he was released in the end of Shawwāl, 898/beginning of Aug., 1493, by Rustam Mīrzā, ruler of Ādharbāyjan.

After spending some time at Tabriz, he accompanied his mother and brothers to Ardabil. The growing influence of the family roused the suspicion of Rustam Mīrzā, who had the princes conveyed to his camp, whence, however, they succeeded in effecting their escape towards the end of 899/middle of 1494; but they were overtaken at Shamāsī, a village near Ardabil, by a contingent of 5,000 men despatched by Rustam Mīrzā and captained by Ḥusayn Beg 'Alī Khānī and Ayba Sultān.

Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh had barely nominated Ismā'il Mīrzā his successor, when he fell in battle, as has been described above<sup>4</sup>, but the princes (Ibrāhīm Mīrzā and Ismā'il Mīrzā) reached Ardabil safely, and were hidden by their mother in the mausoleum of Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq. On the following day, Ayba Sultān reached Ardabil, and began to search for the princes and plunder the town. Thereupon, the princes left the mausoleum and hid themselves in Aḥmad Kākuli's house. Fearing the wrath of Ayba Sultān, Aḥmad Kākuli brought them out and took them to the house of a woman, named Khān Jān, where they remained for a month, unknown to all save their aunt<sup>5</sup> Pāshā Khātūn<sup>6</sup>, the daughter of Sultān Junayd and the wife

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 25, *supra*. Sp. 21, footnote 3, incorrectly states that he was born on Rajab 5, 892/June 27, 1487.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 26, *supra*. Sp. 21 incorrectly states that Shaykh Ḥaydar was killed in A.D. 1490.

<sup>3</sup> Sp. 21 incorrectly states that "he was only about three years of age" at this time.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 26-29, *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Bff. 29a-29b.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 29b. Dp. 4 gives "Shāh Pāshā Khātūn".

of Muḥammadi Beg Turkmān. From there they were taken to the house of a lady, named Ūba-i-Jarrāḥa, of the Dhu'l-Qadr tribe, who, to elude the zealous search instituted by Ayba Sultān, hid them in the vault of the mausoleum of Allāh-Wirmish Āqā, situated in the Jāmi' Mosque of Ardabil.

Meanwhile, one of their followers, who had hidden himself in the Jāmi, Mosque, after a wound received in the battle between Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh and Ayba Sultān, came to know of the princes' presence, and conveyed this information to Rustam Beg Qarāmānī, who too had fled from the same battlefield, and had taken refuge along with eighty men in a mountain in the vicinity of Ardabil. Rustam Beg Qarāmānī took the princes at night to Kargān, a village in that mountain, and hid them in the house of Farrukh-Zād Gurgānī, the preacher, where they spent a few days<sup>1</sup>.

Manṣūr Beg Qipchāqī, Husayn Beg Lala, Qurq Sidi 'Alī, Julbān Beg, Khādim Beg Khalifa, Dada Beg Tālish and Kūk 'Alī Beg decided to remove the princes to the house of Amīra Ishāq, governor of Rasht, who had been for a long time on friendly terms with Muḥammadi Beg (the husband of the princes' aunt Pāshā Khātūn) and his brother Aḥmadi Beg<sup>2</sup>. Then, along with eighty<sup>3</sup> men, they were first taken to the house of Amīra Muẓaffar, governor of Tūl and Nāw. Ayba Sultān heard of this, and sent a message to Amīra Muẓaffar, demanding the princes. Ja'far Beg, governor of Khal-khāl, sent a like message, but, disregarding the messages, Amīra Muẓaffar sent the princes to Amīra Siyāwūsh, governor of Kaskar. Three days later, they were brought to Amīra Ishāq, governor of Rasht, and in spite of his requests, they stayed in a mosque, known as the "White Mosque". A goldsmith, named Amīra Najm, who lived close to the mosque, acted as servant to the princes during the period of their stay at Rasht.

The princes remained there for some time—from seven days to one month<sup>4</sup>—when Kārkiyā Mirzā 'Alī, ruler of Lāhijān, who was superior to all the rulers of Gilān in greatness of power and antiquity of family<sup>5</sup>, came to know of the princes' presence at Rasht, and realizing, that they were driven thither by the adversities of time, and that Amīra Ishāq had not the power to protect them, requested them to come to Lāhijān<sup>6</sup>. The princes, accordingly, went to Lāhijān<sup>7</sup> (in the beginning of 900<sup>8</sup>/end of

<sup>1</sup> Bff. 29b-30b. Up. 264 incorrectly states that Ismā'il Mirzā was allowed to remain at Ardabil.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 30b-31a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 31a. Ap. 20 and Fp. 18 give "200".

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 31a-31b.

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 31b. A omits the detailed account given in Bff. 29a-32a.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 21.

<sup>8</sup> This is the approximate date deduced from the above-mentioned facts. Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh died in the end of 899/middle of 1494, and nearly three months passed till their arrival at Lāhijān.

1494), were hospitably received<sup>1</sup>, and were allotted beautiful buildings next to the college of Kiyā Farīdūn.

Shortly after, hearing of the princes' flight to Lāhijān, Ayba Sultān returned to Tabriz, with Ūba-i-Jarrāha (who had protected the princes) and told the whole story to Rustam Mirzā, who, in the excess of his rage, had the woman strangled in the market-place of Tabriz. Muḥammadi Beg and Aḥmadi Beg also suffered from his wrath, and their property was confiscated, but, eventually, by paying a fine of 30,000 "tankas", they were given pardon at the request of Qarā Dada.

Apart from other services which Kārkiyā Mirzā 'Alī rendered to the princes, he appointed Shamsu'd-Dīn Lāhijī to instruct them in the Holy Qur'ān, and to teach them Persian and Arabic. During this period, Amīra Najm, the goldsmith of Rasht<sup>2</sup>; Kārkiyā Sultān Ḥusayn<sup>3</sup> and Amīra Hāshim, brothers of Kārkiyā Mirzā 'Alī, often came to see the princes<sup>4</sup>.

A few months later, Ibrāhīm Mirzā changed his cap of twelve gores for the head-dress of the Āq-Quyūnlūs, and left for Ardabil<sup>5</sup>.

Rustam Mirzā twice sent a message to Kārkiyā Mirzā 'Alī, demanding the custody of the princes, but received evasive replies. Thereupon, he decided to employ force, and sent Qāsim Beg Turkmān with 300 men to Lāhijān, to arrest the princes; but Kārkiyā Mirzā 'Alī concealed Ismā'il Mirzā in a hanging basket, and swore on the Holy Qur'ān that the prince was not in Lāhijān. Qāsim Beg Turkmān, accordingly, returned to Tabriz with the empty message of Kārkiyā Mirzā 'Alī, and Rustam Mirzā himself decided to invade Lāhijān; but his plan could not materialize due to his death at the hands of his cousin<sup>6</sup> Aḥmad Beg<sup>7</sup> ibn Ughūrlū Muḥammad ibn Amīr Ḥasan Beg on the bank of the river Aras, in Dhū'l-Q., 902<sup>8</sup>/July, 1497. It was then that Ismā'il Mirzā began to lead a peaceful life<sup>9</sup> at Lāhijān<sup>10</sup>, and confer blessings on his followers.

## (2) *Ismā'il Mirzā's March from Lāhijān and Collection of Troops.*

Ismā'il Mirzā remained at Lāhijān for about five years<sup>11</sup>, when, being desirous of (avenging his ancestors and) ending the civil war that followed

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Bff. 32a-32b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 32b. Dp. 9 incorrectly gives "Kārkiyā Sultān Ḥasan".

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 32b.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 21. Tp. 323 and Vp. 241 incorrectly state that he died in Lāhijān. The latter also incorrectly states that Ismā'il (Mirzā) remained an only survivor of his father's family. For the rebellion and death of his step-brother Sulaymān Mirzā see p. 71, *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> Bff. 33b-37b.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 37b. (For his detailed account see Appendix A, p. 107, *infra*.)

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 37b.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 37b. Sir E. D. Ross in *J.R.A.S. for 1896*, p. 297, incorrectly gives "Ardabil".

<sup>11</sup> For he left in Muḥarram, 905/Aug., 1499 (Ef. 14b). Cf. 200a and Fp. 19 incorrectly state that he remained there for six years and a half.

Rustam Mirzā's death, he left for Ardabil<sup>1</sup>, in the middle of Muḥarram, 905<sup>2</sup>/about Aug. 22, 1499. Kārkiyā Mirzā 'Alī, though opposed to the prince's departure on account of his tender age, made provisions for the journey, and accompanied him<sup>3</sup> up to Ardū'i, a village near Daylamān<sup>4</sup>.

Ismā'il Mirzā proceeded to Tārum by way of Daylamān, with seven of his devoted followers, namely: Ḥusayn Beg Lala, Dada Beg Ṭālish, Khādim Beg Khalifa, Rustam Beg Qarāmāni, Bayrām Beg Qarāmāni, Ilyās Beg Ayghūr Ūghli and Qarā Piri Beg Qājār. Hearing of his march towards Ardabil, his followers poured in at every stage, and the number rose to 1,500 when he encamped at Tārum. He proceeded to Khalkhāl, where he spent a few days, and was well entertained by Shaykh Qāsim. Thence he went to Kū'i and stayed there for a month in the house of Malik Muẓaffar<sup>5</sup> known as Khulfā Beg, who was the standard bearer of Sulṭān 'Alī Pādishāh<sup>6</sup>.

He continued his journey to Ardabil, where he paid a visit to the tomb of Shaykh Ṣafīyyū'd-Dīn Ishāq<sup>7</sup>, but he received an ultimatum from Sulṭān 'Alī Beg Chākarlū, the governor of the town<sup>8</sup>, to leave the place immediately or to prepare for war. Whereupon, due to the paucity of his followers, he left the place, and stayed in a village near Ardabil<sup>9</sup>.

Advised by Muḥammadi Beg Tukmān, Muḥammad Sulṭān Ṭālish personally requested Ismā'il Mirzā to visit Ṭawālīsh; and Ismā'il Mirzā, accordingly, went there<sup>10</sup>, and encamped at Arjuwān, a village near Āstārā<sup>11</sup> (on the Caspian Sea). Muḥammad Sulṭān Ṭālish proved his devotion to Ismā'il Mirzā, firstly, by rejecting the offer<sup>12</sup> of Alwand Mirzā<sup>13</sup> ibn Yūsuf Beg ibn Amīr Ḥasan Beg, the ruler of Ādharbāyjān, to hand over Ismā'il Mirzā to him in return for the governorship of Ardabil and Khalkhāl; and

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ef. 14b. Cf. 200a, Fp. 19 and Hf. 18b incorrectly give "906". "906" and "907" respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 200a.

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 45a.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 45a. Sir E. D. Ross in *J.R.A.S. for 1896*, p. 333, incorrectly translates this sentence as "Malik Muẓaffar Tūkājī Sulṭān, son of the blessed martyr Sulṭān 'Alī Pādishāh known as Khulfā".

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 45a-45b.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 24. A omits the detailed account of Ismā'il Mirzā's return from Lāhūjān and his first visit to Ardabil.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 45b. Up. 264 incorrectly states that he established an independent government at Ardabil.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 45b. Ap. 24 incorrectly states that Muḥammad (Sulṭān) Ṭālish was on friendly terms with (Sulṭān) 'Alī Beg Chākarlū. Had he been so, he would not have personally requested Ismā'il Mirzā to visit Ṭawālīsh.

<sup>11</sup> Ap. 24.

<sup>12</sup> Bf. 46a.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 46a incorrectly gives "Rustam Mirzā". Rustam Mirzā had died in Dhul-Q., 902/July, 1497 (see p. 32, *supra*). (For the detailed account of Alwand Mirzā see Appendix A, pp. 108-109, *infra*). Tp. 323 and Up. 265 incorrectly mention "Alwand Mirzā as the son of Ya'qūb Mirzā".



secondly, by declining a sum of 1,000 tūmāns offered by Farrukh Yasār, the Shirwān Shāh, for the same purpose<sup>1</sup>.

Ismā'il Mirzā spent the winter of 905/1499-1500 at Arjuwān, and, in the ensuing spring, he consulted his chief devotees as to where he should proceed next, himself proposing to invade the infidel Georgia. The proposal was accepted, but they suggested that as the number of his followers was very small—only 300 men—he should first send swift messengers to the various provinces of Asia Minor and Syria to summon his followers. The suggestion was accepted and was given effect accordingly<sup>2</sup>.

He then paid a short visit to Ardabīl, and again consulted his chief devotees as to which route he should follow in his proposed campaign. They suggested that, as before leaving his winter-quarters<sup>3</sup> (i.e. Arjuwān) he had sent swift messengers<sup>4</sup> to Asia Minor and Syria to summon his followers he should first proceed to Arzinjān by way of Gūkaja Tangīz, where his followers would have an easy access to him. Whereupon, Ismā'il Mirzā took leave of his mother, and left for Arzinjān<sup>5</sup>.

Near Gūkaja Tangīz, Ismā'il Mirzā came to know that Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bārānī, one of the grandsons of Jahān Shāh, the Qarā-Quyūnlū, who lived in the neighbourhood of Gūkaja Tangīz, was raiding the neighbouring territories with the intention of regaining the power which his ancestors had lost. While Ismā'il Mirzā was consulting his chief devotees about Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bārānī, a messenger came from him, and then he arrived in person to request Ismā'il Mirzā to accept the hospitality of his house. With 1,500 of his followers, Ismā'il Mirzā spent a few days in the house of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bārānī, but suspecting the intention of his host<sup>6</sup>, he left at night for Wuqūz-Alām<sup>7</sup>.

At Wuqūz-Alām, he was reinforced by Qarāja Ilyās and his men from Asia Minor, who had escaped after being plundered at Shūra-Gil by the neighbouring chief named Mantash. Ismā'il Mirzā surprised the castle of Mantash, who managed to escape, but the garrison were put to the sword<sup>8</sup>. He proceeded to the summer-quarters of Sang-i-Kul, inhabited by the Ustājilū tribe, spent a few<sup>9</sup> days<sup>10</sup> in the house of Ūghalān Ummat, and left for Sārūqāya, where he spent two months of the summer of 905-906/1500. In the environs of this village, he encountered a fierce bear, and in spite of

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<sup>1</sup> Bf. 46a-47a.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 24 incorrectly gives this account after his second visit to Ardabīl. Bf. 49a omits this account.

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 49a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 49b. Sir E. D. Ross in *J.R.A.S. for 1896*, p. 340, incorrectly translates "had sent orders by swift messengers" as "should send orders by swift messengers".

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 49b-50a.

<sup>6</sup> App. 24-25.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26. Fp. 20 incorrectly gives that he left for "Gūkaja Tangīz".

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 200a.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 200a incorrectly gives "months".

his young age, slew the bear single-handed with an arrow. He then moved to Arzinjān <sup>1</sup>.

Seven thousand <sup>2</sup> of his followers of the Shāmlū, Ustājlı, Rūmlū, Takkalū, Dhu'l-Qadr, Afshār, Qājār and Warsāq tribes <sup>3</sup>, for whom he had sent messengers, joined him at this place. Among these were Muḥammad Beg Ustājlı and Abdī Beg Shāmlū, with 200 and 300 men respectively <sup>4</sup>.

(3) *Ismā'il Mirzā's War with Farrukh Yasār, the Shirwān Shāh, and the Conquest of Shirwān.*

Having become the commander of 7,000 men, Ismā'il Mirzā determined to proceed against his enemies. Therefore, after consulting his chief devotees for the next expedition, he set out for Shirwān (in the beginning of 906/middle of 1500 to avenge the death of his ancestors).

On his arrival at Yāsīn, he despatched Khulfā Beg to subdue Georgia, who successfully returned with a large booty, which was distributed by Ismā'il Mirzā amongst his troops. Ilyās Beg Ayghūr Ūghlī, the leader of another expedition for the re-conquest of the fort of Mantash, was equally successful. Ismā'il Mirzā then proceeded to Aḥsan-Ābād, where Mantash came to him and apologized for his previous conduct. He was given pardon and was allowed to return to his fort, while Ismā'il Mirzā continued his march <sup>5</sup>.

Amīra Najm (or more properly Amīr Najmu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd), the goldsmith of Rasht, and one of the devout followers of the Ṣafawīs fled from Rasht, for fear of being put to death by Amīra Ishāq, at the instigation of his minister Kūsa 'Abbās, came to Ismā'il Mirzā, while he was marching on Shirwān, and was taken in service <sup>6</sup>.

Ismā'il Mirzā then despatched Bayrām Beg Qarāmānī, with a contingent from Takkalū and Dhu'l-qadr tribes, to cross the river Kur at Qūmīn Ūlamī, and to discover the possibility of fording the river at Qūrī or Qanānj, before these places were occupied by the Shirwān Shāh. Bayrām Beg Qarāmānī found both fords impassable, and was still making up his mind, when Ismā'il Mirzā suddenly came up, and plunging his horse into the river at the latter ford, crossed over with the main army and marched towards Shamākhī (about Jumāda I, 906/Dec., 1500).

On the way, Ismā'il Mirzā received intelligence that Farrukh Yasār, the Shirwān Shāh, was ready for the battle and had encamped near the fort of Qibla <sup>7</sup>, with 7,000 <sup>8</sup> infantry and 20,000 cavalry <sup>9</sup>. He despatched Qulī

<sup>1</sup> App. 26-27.

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 53b. Fp. 20 and Hf. 18b incorrectly give "400".

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 53b. (For a detailed note on these tribes see *Hasan Beg Rūmlū's Aḥsanu't Tawārīkh*. Trans. C. N. Seddon. Calcutta, 1934, pp. 221-22.)

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 53b.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29. Bf. 58a gives "6,000".

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Beg alias Jūsh Mirzā<sup>1</sup> to occupy Shābirān<sup>2</sup>, and, on the following day, himself proceeded, at first towards Shābirān, but later to Shamākhī, which he found deserted. The Shirwān Shāh had, in the meanwhile, pitched his camp in the forest between the forts of Gulistān and Bighurd. As Ismā'il Mirzā advanced to meet the Shirwān Shāh, the Shirwān Shāh made for the fort of Gulistān.

Both sides met at Jiyānī near the fort of Gulistān, and arranged their armies in battle array<sup>3</sup>. Ismā'il Mirzā appointed the Shāmlūs on the right wing, Ustājlıs on the left, and the Takkalūs, Rūmlūs and Dhu'l-Qadrs as the skirmishing party, while he himself commanded the centre. On the other side, the Shirwān Shāh appointed his generals on the right and left sides and himself commanded the centre<sup>4</sup>. A severe action followed, and Ismā'il Mirzā, though less than fourteen years of age, fought in the front ranks for hours, and encouraged his followers to follow suit. Most of the soldiers of the Shirwān Shāh fell dead on the field of battle, while the rest, being unable to withstand the heavy charges of the Qizil-Bāshes, fled towards the fort<sup>5</sup> of Gulistān<sup>6</sup>, along with the Shirwān Shāh<sup>7</sup>. They were eagerly pursued by the Qizil-Bāshes, and again most of them fell to the swords of the pursuers. Husayn Beg Lala's attendant, named Shāh Kaldī Āqā, seized the Shirwān Shāh, and cutting off his head brought it to Ismā'il Mirzā. The victor burnt the corpse of the Shirwān Shāh, and built pyramids of the heads of the enemy<sup>8</sup>.

In this war against the Shirwān Shāh, Ismā'il Mirzā lost only one officer of note, namely, Mirzā Beg Ustājlı<sup>9</sup>, father of Muḥammad Beg Ustājlı<sup>10</sup>. A large booty fell into the hands of the victors, which Ismā'il Mirzā distributed amongst his troops.

Three days later, Ismā'il Mirzā returned to Shamākhī, and received the news that Shaykh Shāh ibn Farrukh Yasār, who had escaped from the field of battle to Shahr-i-Naw, was again making preparations for the battle. Thereupon, Ismā'il Mirzā despatched Khulfā Beg against him, but Shaykh Shāh succeeded in escaping to Gilān. Ismā'il Mirzā himself reached Shahr-i-Naw, appointed Khulfā Beg governor of the town, and went to Maḥmūd-Ābād to spend the winter<sup>11</sup> (of 906/1500-1). Muḥammad Zakariyā, who had been the prime-minister of the Āq-Quyūnlū rulers of Ādharbāyjan for many years, came to Ismā'il Mirzā, and was taken in service<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 28. Bf. 56b gives "Ali Beg alias Jaysh Mirzā" throughout the account.

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 56b. Ap. 28 incorrectly gives "Shirwān".

<sup>3</sup> App. 28-29.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 58a.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 29.

<sup>6</sup> All the authorities incorrectly give "Bighurd". The battle was fought at Jiyānī near the fort of Gulistān.

<sup>7</sup> Bff. 59a-59b. Ap. 29 omits the details and only gives that he was killed in the battle.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 30.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 60a.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 130a.

<sup>11</sup> Ap. 30.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 200b. Bf. 76b states that he came to Ismā'il Mirzā when he was laying siege to the fort of Bākū.

Ismā'il Mirzā then despatched Muḥammad Beg Ustājilū and Ilyās Beg Ayghūr Ūghlī for the conquest of the fort of Bākū<sup>1</sup>. The strength of the fort detained them for a long period, and, eventually, in the ensuing spring, Ismā'il Mirzā himself came up to Bākū<sup>1</sup>, and sent a message to Ghāzī Beg, son-in-law of the late Shirwān Shāh<sup>2</sup> and the governor of the fort, to submit, but the mission proved unsuccessful, and the messenger was put to the sword<sup>3</sup>. Thereupon, Ismā'il Mirzā made a general attack, and took the fort after a hard struggle which lasted for three days. Most of the garrison lost their lives in the fight, while the rest were given pardon, and Khulfā Beg was ordered to seize the treasures of the Shirwān Shāh. He did so, but in the excess of zeal, levelled the buildings to the ground and desecrated the grave<sup>4</sup> of Khalīlu'llāh<sup>4</sup> (father of Farrukh Yasār), who had killed Sultān Junayd (grandfather of Ismā'il Mirzā). He exhumed the bones and burnt them to ashes<sup>5</sup>.

(4) *Ismā'il Mirzā's War with Alwand Mirzā, the Ruler of Ādharbāyījān.*

Ismā'il Mirzā next laid a siege to the fort of Gulistān, but a messenger, sent by his general, Shaykh Muḥammad Khalīfā, who had gone towards Qarā-Bāgh to inquire about Alwand Mirzā, brought back the alarming report, that Alwand Mirzā, the ruler of Ādharbāyījān, was at Nakhjuwān, with 30,000 men, and that he deputed Muḥammad Qarāja towards Shirwān, Ḥasan Beg Shikar Ūghlī<sup>6</sup> towards Qarāja-Dāgh<sup>7</sup>, and Qarchaghāī Beg towards Ardabil, to check the advance of Ismā'il Mirzā's army<sup>8</sup>. Whereupon, Ismā'il Mirzā raised the siege, crossed the river<sup>9</sup> Kur<sup>10</sup>, by a bridge of boats, built by Jūsh Mirzā at Jawād (in the end of 906/about May, 1501), and despatched Qarā Pīrī Beg Qājār against Ḥasan Beg Shikar Ūghlī, who, accordingly, fell back on Nakhjuwān. Ismā'il Mirzā himself advanced towards Qarā-Bāgh, and hearing of his approach both Qarchaghāī Beg and Muḥammad Qarāja retreated to Nakhjuwān.

Ismā'il Mirzā then marched on Nakhjuwān with Qarā Pīrī Beg Qājār<sup>11</sup> and Ilyās Beg Ḥalwāji Ūghlī<sup>12</sup> as his advance-guards. 'Uthmān Beg<sup>13</sup> Mawṣilū<sup>14</sup>, sent by Alwand Mirzā to intercept the invaders, was captured with his companions by Qarā Pīrī Beg Qājār, and was put to the sword by Ismā'il Mirzā's orders.

Alwand Mirzā then wrote a letter to Ismā'il Mirzā, asking him to return to Shirwān, and rule the province as his nominee. The proposal was rejected and both parties proceeded to action<sup>15</sup>: Alwand Mirzā, with his 30,000 men, moved towards Chakūr-Sa'd and encamped at Shurūr<sup>16</sup>, a village

<sup>1</sup> App. 30-31.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 63b.

<sup>7</sup> Bff. 66a-66b. Ap. 32 incorrectly gives "Garmārūd".

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 32.

<sup>13</sup> Ap. 32.

<sup>10</sup> Df. 200a.

<sup>14</sup> Bf. 66b.

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 61b.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 31.

<sup>11</sup> Ap. 32.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 67b-68a.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 66a.

<sup>12</sup> Bf. 66b.

<sup>16</sup> Ap. 32.

by the side of the river Aras <sup>1</sup>; Ismā'il Mirzā, with his 7,000 men <sup>2</sup>, followed him by way of Nakhjuwān, and engaged him in battle at Shurūr <sup>3</sup> (in the beginning of 907 <sup>4</sup>/middle of 1501).

The disposition of the troops was as follows: Ismā'il Mirzā appointed his chief devotees, like Ḥusayn Beg Lala, Dada Beg Ṭālīsh, Khādim Beg Khalifa, Muḥammad Beg Ustājilū, Bayrām Beg Qarāmānī, 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū, Qarāja Ilyās Bāyburdlū, Qarā Pīrī Beg Qājār, Ilyās Beg Halwāji Ūghlī, Ilyās Beg Ayghūr Ūghlī, Sārū 'Alī Beg Takkalū and 'Alī Beg Rūmlū alias Dīw Sultān on the right and left wings, and himself commanded the centre <sup>5</sup>. Alwand Mirzā, after ordering the camels in his army to be chained and to take their stand behind the army in order to prevent the troops from flying <sup>6</sup>, appointed Latīf Beg, Sayyid-i-Ghāzī Beg, Mūsā Beg, Qarchaghāī Beg, Gulābī Beg, Khalīl Beg and Muḥammad Qarāja on the right and left wings, while he himself took his stand in the centre at an elevated place <sup>7</sup>.

In the desperate battle that ensued, Ismā'il Mirzā displayed his courage by attacking the front row of the enemy <sup>8</sup>, and putting Qarchaghāī Beg and many others to the sword <sup>9</sup>. This was the signal for a general attack <sup>10</sup>, in which Latīf Beg <sup>11</sup>, Sayyid-i-Ghāzī Beg, Mūsā <sup>12</sup> Beg, Muḥammad Qarāja <sup>13</sup>, the generals, and a large number of the soldiers of Alwand Mirzā lost their lives. The rest turned to flee, but the lines of the chained camels barred their way, and they fell to the swords of the pursuers: Alwand Mirzā barely escaped with his life <sup>14</sup> to Arzinjān <sup>15</sup>; while a large number of camels, horses, mules, and much costly material fell in the hands of the victors. Whereupon, Ismā'il Mirzā liberally rewarded his troops <sup>16</sup>.

#### (5) *Ismā'il Mirzā's Accession to the Throne of Ādharbāyjān.*

Ismā'il Mirzā left Shurūr for Tabrīz, on the day following his victory over Alwand Mirzā, to occupy the vacant throne of Ādharbāyjān. He was received with great eclat by the dignitaries of the city, and was crowned king <sup>17</sup> in the beginning of 907 <sup>18</sup>/middle of 1501, to be known henceforth as *Shāh Ismā'il*.

<sup>1</sup> Bf. 68b.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 67b. Vp. 241 incorrectly gives "16,000".

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 32.

<sup>4</sup> This is the date of Ismā'il Mirzā's coronation which took place a few days after this battle.

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 69a.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Bf. 69b.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 33.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 71a.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Bf. 71a. Ap. 33 incorrectly gives "Luṭf Beg".

<sup>12</sup> Ap. 33.

<sup>13</sup> Bf. 71a.

<sup>14</sup> Ap. 33. Vp. 241 incorrectly states that he was killed by Ismā'il (Mirzā).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34 gives "داخل ايام سنة ست و تسعمائة" (In the beginning of the year 906).

All authorities are agreed that the coronation was in the year 907: A, therefore, whilst giving the wrong year of coronation (i.e. 906) supplies the additional information that

On the Friday succeeding his coronation, Shāh Ismā'il had the Khutba read in his presence in the name of the Twelve Imāms<sup>1</sup>. The coins of the Shāh struck in Tabriz contain on the obverse the marginal inscription “لا إله إلا الله محمد الرسول الله و علي ولي الله”<sup>2</sup>.

After assuming the royal power, Shāh Ismā'il appointed Husayn Beg Lala his counsellor<sup>3</sup> and prime-minister<sup>4</sup>, Shamsu'd-Dīn Lāhijī<sup>5</sup>, who was his teacher (at Lāhijān)<sup>6</sup>, his chancellor, and Muḥammad Zakariyā his minister. He spent the winter of 907/1501-2 at Tabriz<sup>7</sup>.

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coronation took place in “the beginning of the year”. This is confirmed by the last date (p. 37, *supra*)—spring of the year 906, which falls towards the end of the year 906. Sp. 49 incorrectly states “Crowned 905/1499-1500”. Further, on p. 52, S incorrectly states “Crowned 907/1501-2”. As the year 907 begins on July 17, 1501, therefore, “the beginning of 907” cannot extend to 1502. Gp. 68, Up. 265 and Vp. 241 incorrectly give the dates as 905/1499-1500, A.D. 1499 and 905/1499 respectively.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 34.

<sup>2</sup> R. S. Poole's *Catalogue of Persian Coins* (London, 1887), pp. 1-11.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 76b.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 35.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 32, *supra*.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 35.



## **PART TWO**



## CHAPTER IV

### SHĀH ISMĀ'IL'S WAR WITH RIVAL RULERS

At the time of the accession of Shāh Ismā'il to the throne of Ādharbāyjān (i.e. in the beginning of 907/middle of 1501), Persia was parcelled out amongst the following rulers:—

- (1) Sultān Murād<sup>1</sup> ibn Ya'qūb Mirzā ibn Amīr Ḥasan Beg in the Persian 'Irāq and Fārs;
- (2) Bārik Beg Parnāk<sup>2</sup> in the Arabian 'Irāq;
- (3) Qāsim Beg<sup>3</sup> ibn Jahāngīr Beg (nephew of Amīr Ḥasan Beg) in Diyār Bakr;
- (4) Murād Beg Bāyandar<sup>4</sup> in Yazd;
- (5) Muḥammad Karra<sup>5</sup> in Abarqūh;
- (6) Abu'l-Faṭḥ Beg Bāyandar<sup>6</sup> in Kirmān;
- (7) Qāḍī Muḥammad Kāshānī together with Jalālu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd<sup>7</sup> in Kāshān;
- (8) Ḥusayn Kiyā-i-Chalāwī<sup>8</sup> in Khwār, Simnān and Fīrūz-Kūh; and
- (9) Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā<sup>9</sup> in Khurāsān.

As mentioned above, Shāh Ismā'il spent the winter of 907/1501-2 at Tabrīz, and in the ensuing spring, he set out with the intention of overthrowing his rival rulers<sup>10</sup>.

#### (1) *Pursuit of Alwand Mirzā.*

Shāh Ismā'il celebrated Naw-Rūz in the spring of 907/1502, and thought of proceeding against Sultān Murād, the ruler of the Persian 'Irāq and Fārs<sup>11</sup>; but news arrived that, having collected his forces at Arzinjān<sup>12</sup>, Alwand Mirzā intended to march on Ādharbāyjān; whereupon, the Shāh changed his mind and set out towards Arzinjān on Shawwāl 24<sup>13</sup>, 907<sup>14</sup>/

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<sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, <sup>3</sup>, <sup>4</sup>, & <sup>6</sup> Bf. 77b. (For their detailed account see *infra*, Appendix A, pp. 108-109 and pp. 54, 44, 46 and 46 respectively.)

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 77b. He was formerly in the service of 'Alī Beg Bāyandar, governor of Abarqūh, but had seized the government by plotting against his master, who fled to his brother Murād Beg Bāyandar, governor of Yazd (Bff. 77b-78a).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 77b. (For their detailed account see p. 47, *infra*.)

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 77b. (For his detailed account see pp. 45 and 47-49, *infra*.)

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 77b. (For his detailed account see Jpp. 201-327.)

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 78b-79a.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 79a-79b.

<sup>12</sup> Ap. 35.

<sup>13</sup> Bf. 79b.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 79b. Ef. 24a incorrectly gives "908".

May 2, 1502. Alwand Mirzā fled and took refuge in a fort near Sārūqāya <sup>1</sup>, but was pursued by the Shāh and escaped to Awjān by way of Tabriz <sup>2</sup>. The Shāh followed him and sent his advance-guards after the fugitive prince, who fled from Awjān to Hamadān and from there to Baghdād. Thereupon, the Shāh returned from Awjān to Tabriz to spend the winter (of 908/1502-3).

Alwand Mirzā found his power threatened at Baghdād by Qāsim Beg Bāyandar and left for Diyār Bakr <sup>3</sup>. After disposing of the homonymous Qāsim Beg ibn Jahāngir Beg, the ruler of the province, in a battle, he governed the province till his death in 910 <sup>4</sup>/1504-5.

(2) *War with Sultān Murād and Annexation of the Persian 'Irāq and Fārs.*

Sultān Murād, the ruler of the Persian 'Irāq and Fārs, spent the winter of 908 <sup>5</sup>/1502-3 at Dalijān <sup>6</sup>, and apprehensive of the growing power of Shāh Ismā'il, he collected 300 cannon and 70,000 men, and marched towards Hamadān, before the close of winter <sup>7</sup>. He also sent his mother <sup>8</sup>, Gawhar Sultān Khānum <sup>9</sup>, to Qum to persuade Aslamash Beg, the governor of the town, to come to his help in the impending battle with Shāh Ismā'il. Aslamash Beg accordingly went to Hamadān with his men, and reinforced the troops of Sultān Murād.

Shāh Ismā'il celebrated Naw<sup>4</sup>Rūz in the spring of 908/1503, and sent a messenger, named Qanbar Āqā, to Sultān Murād, with a letter, asking him to submit. The negotiation proved barren <sup>10</sup>, whereupon, the Shāh set out for Hamadān <sup>11</sup>, with 12,000 <sup>12</sup> men, and encamped at Ūlma Qūlāghī <sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bf. 79b.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 35. Sp. 55 states "Alwand . . . suffered a decisive defeat at his hands (i.e. at the hands of Shāh Ismā'il) in the summer of A.D. 1503". This statement contains two errors, for, firstly, no battle was fought; and secondly, the summer concerned is obviously of 1502 A.D., as Shāh Ismā'il started from Tabriz in the spring of 1502 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 81a. Ap. 35 does not give the year of Alwand Mirzā's death. According to another account he was captured by Amīr Beg Mawṣilū and was brought before the Shāh when he (i.e. the Shāh) was passing through Malāṭiyya on his march against 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr in the summer of 912/1507, and was put to death by him. ("*Travels of a Merchant*", pp. 197-98, included in the volume named "*Travels of the Venetians in Persia*", Hakluyt Society, London, 1873.) None of the Persian authorities, however, supports this statement. (For the Shāh's march against 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr see pp. 52-53, *infra*.)

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Bf. 81b. Ap. 35 and Cf. 202a incorrectly give "Walijān" and "Wilkān" respectively.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 35. Fp. 21 incorrectly states that Alwand Mirzā made these preparations to fight with Shāh Ismā'il.

<sup>8</sup> Bf. 81b.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 193b, Dp. 65 and Ef. 25a. Bf. 81b gives "Gawhar Sultānum".

<sup>10</sup> Eff. 81b-83b.

<sup>11</sup> Ap. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Bf. 83b.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 84a. Dp. 65 gives "Āla Qūlāqī".

near Hamadān. Sultān Murād now moved with his army towards Shāh Ismā'il's camp<sup>1</sup>.

On the morning of Monday<sup>2</sup>, Dhu'l-Ḥ. 24<sup>3</sup>, 908/June 21, 1503, the troops were drawn in battle array. Dada Beg Tālish, Ḥusayn Beg Lala, Muḥammad Beg Ustājilū, Bayrām Beg Qarāmānī, 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū, Yakān Beg Takkalū and Sārū 'Alī Beg Takkalū commanded the right and left wings of the Qizil-Bāsh Army. Khulfā Beg and Manṣūr Beg Qipchāqī formed the leaders of the skirmishing party, and Qarā Pīrī Beg Qājār controlled the 1,500 reserves, while Shāh Ismā'il himself directed the battle from the centre. On the other side, Sultān Murād appointed 'Alī Beg Turkmān to the right, Murād Beg to the left wing, and gave the control of the skirmishing party to Aslamash Beg<sup>4</sup>. He then ordered<sup>5</sup> 300<sup>6</sup> cannons to be chained in the front line, and took his command in the centre.

In the fierce contest that followed, Aslamash Beg with his Turkmān warriors repulsed the Qizil-Bāshes' skirmishing party which fell back on the centre. But at this moment Qarā Pīrī Beg Qājār fell with his reserves on Aslamash Beg, who was caught alive, and whose men were cut to pieces. Shāh Ismā'il could not restrain his warlike ardour, and charging upon his enemies, he slew a large number of them, whilst his Qizil-Bāshes routed Sultān Murād's army. 'Alī Beg Turkmān fell with 10,000 men, Kūzil Aḥmad, brother of Ayba Sultān and prime-minister of Sultān Murād, Aslamash Beg, and others were captured alive to be put to death by the Shāh's orders<sup>7</sup>, and only Sultān Murād succeeded in escaping with a few men to Shīrāz. As usual, the victors captured a rich booty comprising camels, horses, mules and equipage.

After distributing spoils amongst his troops, and sending letters of victory to provincial rulers, Shah Ismā'il proceeded to the valley of Mount Alwand to spend the summer<sup>8</sup> of 909/1503. Here he received the grim prize of his enemy's heads from Ilyās Beg Ayghūr Ūghlī, his governor of Tabriz, who had vanquished Nāṣir Manṣūr Turkmān and other rebels, and put most of them to the sword<sup>9</sup>.

The Shāh, however, had abruptly to terminate his retreat in the mountain valley. Sultān Murād began levying troops in Fārs, and the alert Shāh set out for Fārs<sup>10</sup> by way of Iṣfahān. On the way, he received the news of Ḥusayn Kiyā-i-Chalāwī, the ruler of Khwār, Simnān and Fīrūz-Kūh<sup>11</sup>, who, with his 12,000 men, was infesting the frontiers of 'Irāq<sup>12</sup>; thereupon, he issued orders to Ilyās Beg Ayghūr Ūghlī at Tabriz to immediately proceed<sup>13</sup> towards Ray<sup>14</sup>, to check the inroads of Ḥusayn Kiyā.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 84b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 85a. Hf. 20a incorrectly gives "Dhu'l-Ḥ. 14".

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 85a.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Fp. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Bff. 85a-87b.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 37.

<sup>9</sup> Bff. 90b-91b.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 37. Ef. 26a incorrectly states that he went to "Qum".

<sup>11</sup> Bf. 91b.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 96b.

<sup>13</sup> Ap. 37.

<sup>14</sup> Bf. 92a.

The Shāh continued his journey to Iṣfahān, where he was received by the citizens with great honour. Dūrmish Khān ibn 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū, master of ceremonies, was appointed governor of Iṣfahān, but he delegated the charge to one of his servants, named Shāh Ḥusayn Iṣfahānī, and continued his attendance on the Shāh.

At this time, Kirmān was governed by Maḥmūd Beg Bāyandar<sup>1</sup>, whose cousin Abu'l-Faṭḥ Beg, the previous governor of the town, had seized Shirāz, but had lost his life in a hunting expedition by an accidental fall from the top of a mountain near Firūz-Ābād<sup>2</sup>, on Saturday, Shā'bān 8, 908<sup>3</sup>/Feb. 7, 1503. The Shāh despatched Muḥammad Beg Ustājilū with 600 men to capture Kirmān<sup>4</sup>. Whereupon, Murād Beg<sup>5</sup> Bāyandar, governor of Yazd, left the town in charge of his minister, Sultān Aḥmad Beg Sārū'i, and fled to Kirmān. The Bāyandar Chiefs commanded between them 2,000 men, but, on the approach of Muḥammad Beg Ustājilū, they left the town and fled towards Khurāsān. Muḥammad Beg Ustājilū occupied the town, and then returned towards the royal camp<sup>6</sup>, which had meanwhile proceeded to Shirāz<sup>7</sup>. Muḥammad Karra, governor of Abarqūh, sent presents to the Shāh, and was retained in his government<sup>8</sup>.

Meanwhile, Sultān Murād had consolidated his power in Fārs with the help of Ya'qūb Jān Beg, another brother of Ayba Sultān, and had encamped at Shūlistān near Fort Safid. Hearing of Shāh Ismā'il's advance, Sultān Murād and Ya'qūb Jān Beg fled to Baghdād<sup>9</sup>. The former, having spent some time at Baghdād where he was set on the throne by Bārik Beg Par-nāk<sup>10</sup>, left for Aleppo, and after spending a few days<sup>11</sup> with Sultān Qānsū<sup>12</sup>, the ruler of Egypt and Syria, he proceeded to 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr, the ruler of the Dhu'l-Qadr tribe, at Mar'ash<sup>13</sup>; the latter went to Mawsil, where he was put to death by Bashārat Beg to avenge the death of his brother Qāsim Beg, who had been put to death by Sultān Murād at Iṣfahān<sup>14</sup>.

Shāh Ismā'il continued his march on Shirāz<sup>15</sup>, where he arrived on Saturday, Rabī' II, 909<sup>16</sup>/Sept. 24, 1503. The governors of the various sub-provinces of Fārs paid their homage to the Shāh and were retained in their respective governments<sup>17</sup>.

About this time, Sultān Aḥmad Beg Sārū'i, the acting-governor of Yazd, tendered his apologies, and requested the Shāh to appoint someone as governor of Yazd<sup>18</sup>. Accordingly, Shāh Ismā'il appointed Ḥusayn Beg

<sup>1</sup> Bf. 92a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 88a-88b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 196a.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 92a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 94b. Bf. 92b incorrectly gives "Ashraf Beg".

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 92b.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 94a.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 40.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 93a.

<sup>10</sup> Dp. 73.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151. His full name is Ashraf Qānsū Ghūrī and he ruled for 16 years (906-22/1500-16) (Rp. 83).

<sup>13</sup> Bf. 93a.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 90b.

<sup>15</sup> Ap. 37.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. 202a.

<sup>17</sup> Ap. 37.

<sup>18</sup> Bff. 94a-94b. Ap. 40 gives a vague account of Sultān Aḥmad Beg Sārū'i.

Lala, governor of Yazd, who handed over the charge to Shu'ayb Aqā, one of his relatives and servants, and himself remained in the royal camp. Shu'ayb Aqā went to Yazd with Shāh Taqīyyu'd-Dīn Iṣfahānī, and assumed the charge of his office <sup>1</sup> retaining Sultān Aḥmad Beg Sārū'ī as his minister.

Shāh Ismā'il appointed Ilyās Beg Dhu'l-Qadr alias Kajal Beg governor of Fārs <sup>2</sup>, and started on his return march to Kāshān <sup>3</sup> on Jumāda II 1, 909 <sup>4</sup>/Nov. 21, 1503. Qāḍī Muḥammad Kāshānī and Jalālu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd, governors of Kāshān, decorated the town and received the Shāh with great honour. The Shāh reciprocated the welcome by giving a banquet, and distributing presents; and, in particular, honoured Qāḍī Muḥammad Kāshānī by appointing him chancellor and colleague of Shamsu'd-Dīn Lāhijī. The Shāh then proceeded to Qum to spend the winter <sup>5</sup> (of 909/1503-4).

(3) *War with Ḥusayn Kiyā-i-Chalāwī, and the Conquest of the Forts of Gulkhandān, Firūz-Kūh and Ustā.*

At Qum, during the winter of 909/1503-4, Shāh Ismā'il heard that Ilyās Beg Ayghūr Ūghlī, governor of Tabrīz, who had been ordered to proceed towards Ray to check\*the inroads of Ḥusayn Kiyā-i-Chalāwī had been put to death. Apparently finding himself unable to meet with his few soldiers the attack <sup>6</sup> of 12,000 <sup>7</sup> men mustered by Ḥusayn Kiyā, Ilyās Beg Ayghūr Ūghlī had sought the shelter of the fort of Warāmīn. There he was besieged for a while, but, lured by fair promises, he and his companions paid a visit to Ḥusayn Kiyā's camp, where they were treacherously done to death <sup>8</sup>. Ḥusayn Kiyā then invaded the adjoining territories and returned to Firūz-Kūh <sup>9</sup>.

To avenge the assassination, Shāh Ismā'il marched from Qum <sup>10</sup>, on Sunday, Ramaḍān 9, 909/Feb. 25, 1504, towards Firūz-Kūh by way of Warāmīn, where he celebrated Naw-Rūz. On Ramaḍān 29, 909 <sup>11</sup>/March 17, 1504, he reached the fort of Gulkhandān, and after a heated contest <sup>12</sup> with Kiyā Ashraf, the custodian of the fort <sup>13</sup>, won the day, put the garrison to the sword, and razed the fort to the ground. He then pushed on to the fort of Firūz-Kūh, where he arrived <sup>14</sup> on Shawwāl 11, 909/March 29, 1504. Ḥusayn Kiyā put Kiyā 'Alī in charge of the fort, and fled before Shāh Ismā'il to the fort of Ustā <sup>15</sup>. After a grim struggle which lasted for ten days <sup>16</sup>, in which Shāh Ismā'il personally took part, and in which he lost many of his men, Maḥmūd Beg Qājār reached the battlements of the fort on the eleventh day. Others followed him and routed the enemy's forces. Kiyā

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 94b.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 202b.

<sup>5</sup> App. 37-38.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38

<sup>7</sup> Bf. 97b.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 38.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 97b.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 38.

<sup>11</sup> Bff. 97b-98b.

<sup>12</sup> App. 38-39.

<sup>13</sup> Bf. 98b.

<sup>14</sup> Ap. 39.

<sup>15</sup> Bff. 99a-99b.

<sup>16</sup> Ap. 39.

'Alī sued for peace, and was given pardon at the request of Amīra Najm <sup>1</sup>, but the garrison was slaughtered <sup>2</sup>, and the fort razed to the ground.

On Shawwāl 24, 909 <sup>3</sup>/April 11, 1504, Shāh Ismā'il marched towards the fort of Ustā. Ḥusayn Kiyā left the fort with a strong detachment of his soldiers and laid an ambush <sup>4</sup>. The Shāh despatched 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū and Bayrām Beg Qarāmānī to attack the fort from one gate, while he himself commanded the forces from the other. 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū and Bayrām Beg Qarāmānī were suddenly attacked, and though they displayed great valour, they failed to reach the fort. At the other gate <sup>5</sup>, Ḥusayn Kiyā <sup>6</sup> and Murād Beg Jahān Shāhī <sup>7</sup> fell back before the attack of the Shāh and his 200 men, and closed the fort. After several days of incessant struggle, the Shāh cut off the water supply from the river <sup>8</sup> Ḥabla <sup>9</sup>, and on the fourth day compelled the besieged to submit. The citadel, where Ḥusayn Kiyā <sup>10</sup>, Murād Beg Jahān Shāhī and Sāyaltamash Beg <sup>11</sup> had taken refuge, held out for three days longer <sup>12</sup>, but it was eventually stormed and taken on Dhu'l-Q. 27, 909 <sup>13</sup>/May 13, 1504. The refugees fell into the hands of the victors; Murād Beg Jahān Shāhī and Sāyaltamash Beg were roasted alive <sup>14</sup>; while Ḥusayn Kiyā was confined in an iron-cage <sup>15</sup>, prepared by the victim himself for the prisoners he was hoping to secure in battle <sup>16</sup>. Ten thousand <sup>17</sup> of the garrison were put to the sword, and only a few learned men and some others were given pardon at the request of the Shāh's officers <sup>18</sup>. The fort was levelled to the ground, and the large booty, which fell into the Shāh's hands, was distributed amongst the troops <sup>19</sup>.

For a few days, Shāh Ismā'il rested on his laurels by hunting in the neighbourhood <sup>20</sup>. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā <sup>21</sup> ibn Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā, governor of Jurjān; Āqā Rustam and Nizāmu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l Karīm, the rulers of Māzandarān <sup>22</sup>; Kārkiyā Sultān Ḥusayn <sup>23</sup>, brother of <sup>24</sup> Kārkiyā

<sup>1</sup> Bff. 100a-101b.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Bff. 101b-102a.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Bff. 102b-103a.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Bf. 103b.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 39.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 103b. Cf. 202b incorrectly gives "Ḥabal".

<sup>10</sup> App. 39-40.

<sup>11</sup> Bf. 104b.

<sup>12</sup> Ap. 40.

<sup>13</sup> Dp. 79. Cf. 202b incorrectly gives "Dhu'l-Ḥ. 1, 909" (May 17, 1504). The Shāh spent a few days ahunting and commenced his return march on Dhu'l-Ḥ. 3, 909/May 19, 1504 (Dp. 80).

<sup>14</sup> Bf. 104b.

<sup>15</sup> Ap. 40.

<sup>16</sup> Bff. 102a-102b.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 104b. Ap. 40 gives "All".

<sup>18</sup> Ap. 40.

<sup>19</sup> Bf. 105a.

<sup>20</sup> Ap. 40.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40. Bf. 105a incorrectly gives "Muḥammad Muḥsin Mirzā". Muḥammad Muḥsin Mirzā was at this time the governor of Mashhad and Tūs (and not of Jurjān) (see Jpp. 287-88). Sp. 56 also makes the same incorrect statement. Again Sp. 56 incorrectly states that Shāh Ismā'il went to Astrābād where he was met by Muḥammad Muḥsin Mirzā.

<sup>22</sup> Bf. 105b.

<sup>23</sup> Ap. 40. Bf. 105 incorrectly gives "Kārkiyā Sultān Ḥasan".

<sup>24</sup> Bf. 105b. Bp. 40 incorrectly gives "the son of".

Mirzā 'Alī, ruler of Lāhījān, came to congratulate the Shāh on his victory, and returned to their respective governments.

Shāh Ismā'il commenced his return march <sup>1</sup> on Dhu'l-H. 3, 909 <sup>2</sup>/ May 19, 1504. On the way, Ḥusayn Kiyā inflicted a wound on himself, and died <sup>3</sup> at Kabūd-Gunbad near Ray, in the very town he had killed Ilyās Beg Ayghūr Ūghlī <sup>4</sup>; but his corpse remained in the cage till it was burnt in the Maydān of Isfahān. The Shāh proceeded to Sāwuj Bulāgh <sup>5</sup> (now in the modern province of Tīhrān <sup>6</sup>), and received the homage of Suhrāb Beg Chalāwī, governor of the fort of Ārd-Sanad near Sāwuj Bulāgh <sup>7</sup>. From there he marched to the summer-quarters of Sūrlūq, where he received the news of the rebellion of Muḥammad Karra, governor of Abarqūh <sup>8</sup>.

(4) *Rebellion of Muḥammad Karra and Re-conquest of Yazd.*

It has been previously stated that Shu'ayb Āqā became governor of Yazd with Sultān Aḥmad Beg Sārū'i as his minister. When Shāh Ismā'il was conducting his campaign in Firūz-Kūh and Ustā against Ḥusayn Kiyā <sup>9</sup>, Sultān Aḥmad Beg Sārū'i seized the opportunity to put Shu'ayb Āqā and his servants to death, and resumed the reins of government. Thereupon, Muḥammad Karra, governor of Abarqūh, led a night attack on Yazd <sup>10</sup> with 4,000 horse <sup>11</sup>, put Sultān Aḥmad Beg Sārū'i to death, and occupied the town <sup>12</sup>. He next appointed Mīr Ḥusayn Maybudī his minister, and laid his heavy hands and taxes upon the inhabitants <sup>13</sup>.

Swift was the retribution. Leaving the summer-quarters of Sūrlūq (in the beginning of 910 <sup>14</sup>/middle of 1504), the Shāh hastened by way of Isfahān <sup>15</sup>, and, though Yazd was strongly besieged, he took the town after a month by successive skirmishes. Most of the inhabitants were butchered, but Muḥammad Karra <sup>16</sup> and Mīr Ḥusayn Maybudī <sup>17</sup> with few others held out in the fort for a month. Eventually, they were taken alive; Muḥammad Karra was confined in the same iron-cage <sup>18</sup>, which contained Ḥusayn Kiyā's corpse, and was later on burnt in the Maydān of Isfahān <sup>19</sup>. Mīr Ḥusayn Maybudī was beheaded there and then <sup>20</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Dp. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Bff. 104b-105a.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 40. Bf. 106a, Dp. 80 and Ef. 28a incorrectly give "Sāwukh Bulāgh".

<sup>6</sup> P, Vol. II, p. 311.

<sup>7</sup> Bf. 106a.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 40.

<sup>9</sup> See pp. 47-48, supra.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 40.

<sup>11</sup> Bf. 107a.

<sup>12</sup> Ap. 40.

<sup>13</sup> Bf. 107a.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 202b gives "Jamāda II, 28, 910" (Dec. 6, 1504). Dp. 83 and Ef. 28a give "the month of Rajab, 910" (Dec., 1504). These dates are incorrect, for the month of December does not correspond with the fact that the Shāh proceeded from the summer-quarters of Sūrlūq.

<sup>15</sup> Ap. 40.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>17</sup> Bf. 108a.

<sup>18</sup> Ap. 41.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41. Cf. 203a incorrectly states that he killed himself in the cage.

<sup>20</sup> Bf. 109a. Dp. 82 incorrectly gives his death under the year "909". Ef. 28a gives the date of his death as "Tuesday, Sha'bān 29, 909". Sp. 57 incorrectly states that he was put to death at Isfahān in the presence of the Turkish Embassy.

About this time, Ra'is Ghaybī, cousin of Muḥammad Karra, who had been left in charge of Abarqūh, rose in revolt, whereupon, the Shāh despatched 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū from Yazd to punish the rebels <sup>1</sup>.

During the siege of Yazd, Shāh Ismā'il received Kamālu'd-Dīn Ṣadr, the envoy of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā, ruler of Khurāsān, to congratulate the Shāh on his conquests. But the improperly worded letter of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā and his humble presents aroused the anger of the Shāh, who marched forthwith <sup>2</sup> towards the frontier of Khurāsān to invade Ṭabas. This town was under the governorship of Muḥammad Walī Beg <sup>3</sup>, Chief of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā's stables <sup>4</sup>, who had handed over the charge to Ṭardhī Bābā. Ignoring the fort where Ṭardhī Bābā had taken refuge, the Shāh rifled the town and eliminated <sup>5</sup> 7,000 <sup>6</sup> of its inhabitants <sup>7</sup>. Thereupon, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā appeased the wrath of the Shāh and procured his return to Yazd by lowering the tone of his language and enhancing the value of his presents. About this time, Ilyās Beg Dhu'l-Qadr known as Kajal Beg, governor of Fārs, was put to death for ill-treating his subjects, and was replaced by Ummat Beg Sārū Dhu'l-Qadr, on whom was conferred the title of "Khalīl Sulṭān" <sup>8</sup>.

Shāh Ismā'il re-appointed Ḥusayn Beg-Lala governor of Yazd <sup>9</sup>, and returned to Isfahān to spend the winter <sup>10</sup> (of 910/1504-5). A few days later, there arrived an embassy from the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512), with suitable presents to congratulate Shāh Ismā'il on his conquests <sup>11</sup>. The reception was held in the newly constructed palace in the garden of Naqsh-i-Jahān. Armed cavalry and infantry was drawn up in two lines before the audience-chamber. Dürmish Khān Shāmlū, master of ceremonies, with jewelled staff, and the guards with gold-plated maces, stood by the side of the Shāh. On one side of the throne were mace-bearers and archers comprising the military, on the other side civilian officers and theologians, like Qāḍī Muḥammad Kāshānī, Shamsu'd-Dīn Lāhijī, Sharifu'd-Dīn Shirāzī and 'Alī Jabal Āmulī. The Ottoman embassy was then given audience before the Shāh <sup>12</sup>.

To impress the Ottomans with Ṣafawī majesty, Muḥammad Karra and the corpse of Ḥusayn Kiyā <sup>13</sup>, together with Ra'is Ghaybī and other prisoners secured by 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū from Abarqūh and brought about this time

<sup>1</sup> Bf. 108a.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 41. Ap. 41 and Dp. 84 incorrectly give the date as "the beginning of Sha'bān 910" (Jan. 1505). It does not correspond with the time when these events took place. Shāh Ismā'il came to Yazd in summer and captured it in two months, and, therefore, evidently before the beginning of winter.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 110a.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Bf. 110a.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 41.

<sup>8</sup> Bff. 110a-111b.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 111a.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 41. Cf. 203a incorrectly states that he returned on "Wednesday, Sha'bān 14, 910" (Feb. 1, 1505). (For reasons see note 2 above.)

<sup>11</sup> Ap. 41.

<sup>12</sup> Bf. 112b.

<sup>13</sup> Ap. 41.



to Iṣfahān <sup>1</sup>, were burnt publicly, the living and the dead, on the same day in the presence of the ambassadors <sup>2</sup>, who were then dismissed with robes of honour, Arab horses and trappings <sup>3</sup>, and messages of friendship <sup>4</sup>.

Civil and military reasons were responsible for the violent death of Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn and Shāh Taqī'ud-Dīn Iṣfahānī by the Shāh's orders. The former had violated his oath to the Shāh by not supplying the royal army with the grain from his large stores of wheat; the latter had conspired with Sultān Aḥmad Beg Sārū'i and Muḥammad Karra in their revolt against the Shāh.

In Lāhijān, Kārkiyā Sultān Ḥusayn organized a successful revolt against his brother, Kārkiyā Mirzā 'Alī, whose minister, Kiyā Farīdūn, he put to death. Kārkiyā Mirzā 'Alī transferred the government to his brother and became a recluse at Rānkūh <sup>5</sup>.

The Shāh celebrated the Naw-Rūz of 910/1505, and led a hunting expedition near the summer-quarters of Ulang-i-Kaniz <sup>6</sup>, in which 6,700 <sup>7</sup> animals were slain, and of the heads of these animals a minaret was built at Iṣfahān <sup>8</sup>.

#### (5) *Minor Events.*

From the summer-quarters of Iṣfahān the Shāh proceeded to Hamadān, and thence to Imānzāda Sahl 'Alī's tomb, in a village near Hamadān. He issued orders for the reconstruction of the mausoleum, and enclosing the tomb in a garden after the completion of the work, the Shāh moved to the summer-quarters of Sūrlūq.

In the ensuing winter of 911/1505-6, the Shāh proceeded <sup>9</sup> to the frontier of Ādharbāyjān, for suppressing Shīr <sup>10</sup> Šārim, a robber-chief of Kurdistān. After slaughtering his followers and plundering the camp, for Shīr Šārim succeeded in escaping, the Shāh moved to the river Qizil-Ūzūn.

Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, ruler of Rasht and Fūman, rose in revolt but the despatch of the Qizil-Bāsh troops, which the Shāh was following by way of Tārum, brought the rebel to his senses <sup>11</sup>. Through the intercession of Najmud-Dīn Mas'ūd <sup>12</sup> Rashti, Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn was pardoned and was retained in his government.

The Shāh decided to spend the winter at Tārum <sup>13</sup>, and despatched Dada Beg Tālish towards Ṭabarsarān to avenge the death of his father (i.e. Shāh Ismā'il's) on the inhabitants of the town. The general returned successfully before the close of the winter. During this winter, Julbān Beg,

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<sup>1</sup> Bf. 112b.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 41. Ef. 28b incorrectly states that Ra'is Ghaybi and other prisoners of Abarqūh were put to death at Shirāz.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Dp. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Bff. 113a-114a.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 42.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42. Bf. 116a gives "56,706". This number seems to be exaggerated.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>10</sup> Bf. 117b.

<sup>11</sup> Ap. 43.

<sup>12</sup> Bf. 118b.

<sup>13</sup> Ap. 43.

governor of Ṭarūm, was put to death by the Shāh's orders on account of his ill-treatment of the subjects.

Kārkiyā Mirzā 'Alī and his brother Kārkiyā Sultān Ḥusayn were killed by rebels at Rānkūh. The new governor appointed by the Shāh was Kārkiyā Sultān Aḥmad ibn Kārkiyā Sultān Ḥusayn, who inaugurated his rule by putting to death the assassins of his father and uncle <sup>1</sup>.

After celebrating Naw-Rūz at Ṭarūm, and indulging in horse-racing and polo at Sultāniyya, the Shāh proceeded to Sūrlūq in the beginning of 912/middle of 1506.

A punitive expedition under Bayrām Beg Qarāmānī, Khādim Beg Khalifa <sup>2</sup>, 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū, father-in-law of Shāh Ismā'il, and Sārū 'Alī Beg Takkalū <sup>3</sup> plundered the camp of Shīr Šārim, and in a second skirmish captured alive, his son, brother and some of his officers <sup>4</sup>. In the engagement 'Abdī Beg Shāmlū and Sārū 'Alī Beg Takkalū lost their lives <sup>5</sup>: the fate of Shīr Šārim, who escaped, is unknown <sup>6</sup>. The captives, who were brought to the Shāh at Khūy, in the winter of 912/1506-7, were barbarously massacred to avenge the death of Qizil-Bāsh officers <sup>7</sup>.

(6) *War with 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr and Annexation of Diyār Bakr.*

While Shāh Ismā'il was celebrating Naw-Rūz at Khūy, 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr, for re-establishing the power of Sultān Murād, to whom he had given shelter at Mar'ash, and subsequently his daughter, was seizing the forts of Diyār Bakr <sup>8</sup> from Amīr Beg ibn Gulābī Beg ibn Amīr Beg Mawṣilū who had appropriated the province on the death of Alwand Mirzā in 910 <sup>9</sup>/1504-5. On the arrival of this news, the Shāh set out, with 20,000 men, towards Arzinjān in the beginning of 913/about May, 1507.

Thereupon, 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr fled to the fort of Albistān <sup>10</sup>: then he imprisoned Ūghalān Ummat Chāwūshlū, the envoy of Shāh Ismā'il; finally, hearing of Shāh Ismā'il's passage through Qaysariyya into Turkish territory <sup>11</sup>, he fled from Albistān to Mount Durnā.

Shāh Ismā'il came up to Albistān, and engaged the army deserted of its leader. On the third day the enemy broke and fled: the Shāh secured rich spoils, of which, curiously, he ordered the stores of wheat to be burnt to ashes <sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bff. 119a-120a.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 120b.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 121b.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 44. Sp. 58 incorrectly states that Shīr Šārim was also captured and put to death.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 129a.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 45.

<sup>11</sup> Bff. 123b-124b.

<sup>12</sup> App. 45-46. Dpp. 93-94 omits this account. Further it contradicts this and states that no battle was fought between Shāh Ismā'il and 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr. This statement is literally, but not historically, true, for the battle was fought between Shāh Ismā'il and Dhu'l-Qadr troops, deserted by 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr.

Ḥusayn Beg Lala, while fording the river, was surprised by Qāsim Beg alias Sārū Qapalān ibn 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr and lost 300 men. The Shāh now decided to move towards Diyār Bakr. The above-mentioned Amīr Beg Mawṣilū came to offer his homage, and was appointed Seal-Keeper<sup>1</sup>; the fall of Kharput induced a few forts to capitulate; Muḥammad Beg Ustājilū<sup>2</sup> ibn Mīrzā Beg Ustājilū, brother-in-law of the Shāh<sup>3</sup>, was appointed governor of Diyār Bakr<sup>4</sup>, with the title of "Khān", and sent to the fort of Qarā Ḥamīd<sup>5</sup>, while the Shāh himself proceeded to Akhlāt. After receiving the homage of Sharafu'd-Dīn Beg, governor of Bitlis<sup>6</sup>, and spending a few days hunting in Bitlis, Arjish and Akhlāt<sup>7</sup>, the Shāh returned to Khūy for the winter of 913<sup>8</sup>/1507-8.

(7) *Wars of Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū with 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr.*

Qāytmās Beg, brother of Amīr Beg Mawṣilū, held the fort of Qarā Ḥamīd before which Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū, the newly appointed Safawī governor, encamped to spend the winter of 913/1507-8. Instigated by Qāytmās Beg, the Kurds molested the Qizil-Bāsh camp, whereupon, Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū marched into the Kurdish territories, and, in a decisive and sanguinary fight, left 700 Kurds dead on the field of battle.

Alarmed at the success of the expedition, Qāytmās Beg sought help from 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr, who forthwith sent 10,000 men under the command of his own sons, Sārū Qapalān and Urdūāna Beg.

To meet this new menace, Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū had only 2,000 men, of which 800 represented the skirmishing party of his brother Qarā Beg. The battle commenced, and these latter were dismounted by a violent charge of Sārū Qapalān, but, eventually, the rare bravery of Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū enabled him to gain a complete victory. The enemy is alleged to have lost 700 officers in battle; 32 others, inclusive of Sārū Qapalān and Urdūāna Beg, were taken prisoner, and immediately decapitated, and trophies of their heads were sent as a present to the Shāh at Khūy. The casualty list is no doubt exaggerated, for an army of 10,000 men could hardly have had 732 officers exclusive of those who fled from the field of battle.

This engagement sealed the fate of Qāytmās Beg. He and his retinue were butchered, when after a short siege the fort of Qarā Ḥamīd fell into the hands of Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū<sup>9</sup>.

To avenge the loss of his sons and his army, 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr despatched, in the early spring of 913/1508, another force<sup>10</sup>, but of 15,000<sup>11</sup> men, under his two other sons, Kūr Shāh Rukh and Aḥmad Beg.

<sup>1</sup> Bff. 128a-129a.

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 130a. (The Shāh's sister was married to him.)

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 130a.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 46.

<sup>7</sup> Bf. 130a.

<sup>9</sup> Bff. 130a-134a. Ap. 46 gives a short account of this battle.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 46.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46. Cf. 204a and Dp. 105 give "14,000" and "11,000" respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. 46.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 46.

Meanwhile, Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū had moved to Mārdīn, and his brother Qarā Beg had invaded Jazīra, killing and plundering the Kurds. The advent of a second Dhu'l-Qadr army recalled Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū to Qarā Ḥamid. His 3,000 men were resolved into a right wing commanded by himself; a centre under Ācha Sultān Qājār; and a left wing under Qarā Beg. The 15,000 troops of the enemy comprised a right wing under Kūr Shāh Rukh, Murād Beg and Qāytmās Beg; a centre under Muḥammad Beg ibn 'Aziz Āqā; and a left wing under Aḥmad Beg, 'Abdu'llāh Beg and Ūrkamaz Beg.

The battle began with a repulse from the Qizil-Bāsh centre to meet the charge of the enemy's centre; then the right and left wings of the enemy advanced simultaneously upon the Qizil-Bāshes, whose right and left wings closed in upon the centre to sustain the charge. Then followed a fierce, compact, Qizil-Bāsh attack, which broke the enemy. The prisoners included Ūrkamaz Beg, Qāytmās Beg, and two grandsons of 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr (sons of Kūr Shāh Rukh), named Muḥammad Beg and 'Alī Beg, who escaped the general butchery in which Kūr Shāh Rukh, Aḥmad Beg, 'Abdu'llāh Beg, Muḥammad Beg ibn 'Aziz Āqā, Murād Beg, and fifty other officers perished without obtaining quarter. <sup>1</sup>

The victims' heads were sent with four prisoners and a letter of victory to the Shāh at Ḥamadān, who was on his way to Baghdād. The prisoners were released; the grandsons of 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr received a pension; and Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū was rewarded with a golden belt, a cap, and robe of honour <sup>1</sup>.

#### (8) *The Annexation of the Arabian 'Irāq.*

At Khūy, in the winter of 913/1507-8, Najmu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd was appointed counsellor.

The flight of Sultān Murād from Baghdād enabled Bārik Beg Parnāk to seize the reins of government. Shāh Ismā'il decided on displacing the usurper, and to procure a voluntary submission sent Khalīl Beg from Ḥamadān in the spring of 914/1508. When this was effected, the Shāh demanded from Abū Ishāq that his master Bārik Beg Parnāk should pay personal fealty: the response was the open revolt of Bārik Beg Parnāk, who cast the theologian Muḥammad Kamūna of Najaf into a dark pit, and levied arms and provisions.

Later, the usurper lost heart, and fled to Aleppo <sup>2</sup>; the theologian was released; and Ḥusayn Beg Lala, representing the advance-guard of Shāh Ismā'il, peacefully occupied Baghdād. Khādim Beg Khalīfa was appointed governor of Baghdād, which the Shāh entered amidst public rejoicing and

<sup>1</sup> Bff. 135b-140a. Ap. 46 gives a short account of this battle.

<sup>2</sup> App. 47-48. Fpp. 22 and 25 incorrectly states that he fled to Aleppo along with Sultān Murād. As given above, Sultān Murād had already left Baghdād.

sacrifice of bulls <sup>1</sup>, on Jumāda II, 25, 914 <sup>2</sup>/Oct. 21, 1508, and inaugurated his entry by putting the servants of Bārīk Beg Parnāk to death <sup>3</sup>.

The Shāh visited various shrines of the Imāms: of Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī at Karbalā <sup>4</sup> on Rajab I, 914 <sup>5</sup>/Oct. 25, 1508, where he presented twelve gold-plated chandeliers, silken carpets and screens; of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib at Najaf, where he appointed Muḥammad Kamūna as keeper, with instructions to rebuild the shrine, and presented a manuscript of the Holy Qur'ān, transcribed by himself in his childhood at Lāhijān <sup>6</sup>; finally, of Mūsā-al-Kāzim, of Muḥammad Taqī, of 'Alī Naqī, and of Ḥasan al-'Askari. These latter received carpets, and gold and silver-plated chandeliers from the religious devotion of the Shāh <sup>7</sup>, who ordered the shrines to be rebuilt <sup>8</sup>; and subsequently visited Ṭāq-i-Kisrā, and on his way to Baghdād slew a huge lion with an arrow from his bow.

On a second visit rations were fixed for the shrines, whereof the old coffers were replaced <sup>9</sup>, and at Najaf Qāḍī-i-Jahān Ḥusaynī spent 2,000 tūmāns for repairing the canal cut from the Euphrates by 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī <sup>10</sup>, brother of the Ṣāhib-Diwān Khwājā Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad <sup>11</sup>.

Khādim Beg Khalīfa, the above-mentioned governor of Baghdād, was now promoted to the governorship of the Arabian 'Irāq, with the title of "Khalīfatu'l-Khulafā" <sup>12</sup>.

#### (9) *Minor Events.*

The Arabs of "Mushā'shā'" tribe in Ḥuwayza, ruled by a Sayyid, believed in the divinity of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and during their prayers were reported to enjoy immunity from fire, sword or arrow. In the beginning of Shāh Ismā'il's career, the "Mushā'shā'" ruler was Sulṭān Muḥsin, but his son and successor Sulṭān Fayyāḍ advanced the divine origin for himself, and brought upon him the wrath of Shāh Ismā'il.

En route to Ḥuwayza, the Shāh detached Najmu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd, Bayrām Beg Qarāmānī and Ḥusayn Beg Lala <sup>13</sup>, with 10,000 <sup>14</sup> men, to crush Malik Shāh Rustam, ruler of Lūristān, at Khurram-Ābād.

In the fierce battle with the Qizil-Bāsh army at Ḥuwayza, most of the fanatics, inclusive of Sulṭān Fayyāḍ, lost their lives <sup>15</sup>, whereupon, the Shāh

<sup>1</sup> App. 48-49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49. Cf. 204a and Fp. 26 give "Jumāda II, 20, 914".

<sup>3</sup> Dp. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. 49.

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 143a.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 144a.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Bf. 144a.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 50.

<sup>10</sup> B.M. MS., Or. 1540, f. 6a. *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā of Juwaynī, Vol. I (ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad) (Leyden, 1912), Persian Intr. p. 5.*

<sup>11</sup> Ef. 31b.

<sup>12</sup> Ap. 50.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51. Bf. 147a gives "2,000".

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51. Dp. 104 and Ef. 32a incorrectly state that on hearing of Shāh Ismā'il's advance towards Ḥuwayza, Sulṭān Fayyāḍ fled and that no battle was fought between them.

annexed the territory and proceeded via Dizfūl to Shūshtar. There he was joined by the Lūristān detachment <sup>1</sup>, which had been successful in securing the person of Malik Shāh Rustam <sup>2</sup>. For the grace with which the captive sought pardon in the Lurī dialect, he was allowed to retain his government <sup>3</sup>, and his beard was strung with pearls by Dūrmish Khān Shāmlū at the bidding of the Shāh <sup>4</sup>.

Shāh Ismā'il proceeded from Shūshtar <sup>5</sup>, by way of the Gilūya mountains <sup>6</sup>, towards Shīrāz to spend the winter <sup>7</sup> (of 914/1508-9). At Dāru'l-Jird <sup>8</sup>, he organized a hunting expedition and slew numerous animals inclusive of mountain goats reputed to contain an "animal antidote" <sup>9</sup>.

At Shīrāz which was en fete, the Shāh received, through his envoy Akhī Beg, letters of submission from the rulers of Hurmuz and Lār. Yār Aḥmad Iṣfahānī was appointed minister; Qāḍī Muḥammad Kāshānī, the chancellor, was put to death for misdemeanour, in Ṣafar, 915/May-June, 1509, and was succeeded by Sharifu'd-Dīn 'Alī Astrābādī, descendant <sup>10</sup> of Sayyid Sharifu'd <sup>11</sup>-Dīn 'Alī Jurjānī; finally, Dada Beg Tālīsh, governor of Qazwīn, Sāwuj Bulāgh, Ray and Khwār, was replaced by Zaynal Beg Shāmlū <sup>12</sup>.

In the beginning of summer 915/1509, the Shāh left for Iṣfahān. After indulging for two weeks in horse-racing, polo <sup>13</sup> and archery practice of "qabaq" <sup>14</sup>, and widening the famous "Maydān", the Shāh made for Hamadān. The autumn was spent in the valley of Mount Alwand; the Shāh left for Khūy via Tabriz. Yār Aḥmad Iṣfahānī filled the vacancy created by the death of Najmu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd, and received the title of "Najm-i Thānī" (the Second Star), for he succeeded "Najm-i-Awwal <sup>15</sup>" (the First Star).

In the beginning of the winter of 915/1509-10, Shāh Ismā'il crossed the river Kur, by a bridge of boats at Jawād, to crush the rebel Shaykh Shāh ibn Farrukh Yasār of Shirwān, who had expelled Shāh Kaldī Āqā, the delegate of the Ṣafawī governor, Ḥusayn Beg Lala, and had seized the

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 148b.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 149a.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 52.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 204a.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 52.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52. Bf. 150b incorrectly gives "Dārāb-Jird", which lies towards the south-east of Shīrāz (Opp. 187-88). Sp. 59 also makes the same incorrect statement.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52. The number of the animals slain is not given. Sp. 59, footnote 2, incorrectly gives the number as "56,700"; while "56,706" is given in Bf. 116a in connection with the expedition arranged in the spring of 910/1505 near the summer-quarters of Ulang-i-Kanīz (see p. 51, supra).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>11</sup> Bf. 151b. Ap. 52 incorrectly gives "Sharafu'd-Dīn".

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 204b. E incorrectly gives it after the second invasion of Shirwān by Shāh Ismā'il on f. 154b.

<sup>13</sup> Ap. 52.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52. It is a game which consists in shooting a suspended gourd with an arrow.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

province. Shaykh Shāh fled to the fort of Bīghurd; the Qizil-Bāsh advance-guard occupied Shamākhī; Bākū, Shābirān, and other forts returned to their allegiance: and Darband, which held out, was besieged by the Shāh in person <sup>1</sup>.

With its high ramparts and only two gates opening on to Shirwān and Dāghistān territory; its foundations sunk into the Alburz range and its length extending to the distance of three bow-shots in the Caspian Sea, the fort could laugh to scorn the power of the besieger <sup>2</sup>: "its inhabitants obtain corn from the ear of the sky (i.e. Virgo), and for meat they can roast the lamb of the heavens (i.e. Aries)". Nevertheless, the Shāh breached and took the fort in a few days. The expelled governor was re-appointed to the post; Mansūr Beg became the warden of Darband <sup>3</sup>; and the Shāh's head-butler <sup>4</sup>, Muḥammad Beg Ustājilū, was made prime-minister <sup>5</sup> with the title of "Jāyān Sultān" <sup>6</sup>.

After directing that the body of his father, Sultān Ḥaydar, be exhumed from Ṭabarsarān and buried in the ancestral graveyard at Ardabīl—an order which was carried into effect—the Shāh re-crossed the river Kur at Jawād to spend the winter in Qarā-Bāgh.

The spring of 916/1510 was spent in Tabrīz; on the advent of summer, the Shāh issued orders from Sultāniyya for a general levying of troops from the provinces, and marched upon Khurāsān by way of Jīlang-i-Kharqān <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 153b.

<sup>3</sup> App. 53-54.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 154b.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 154b. Previously, Ḥusayn Beg Lala was all in all governor, and prime-minister. Actually, however, he ruled in Shirwān by proxy and had delegated his powers to his servant Shāh Kaldī Āqā.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 154b. cf. Ḥāfiẓ: گدای شهر نگه کن که میرِ مجلس شد.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 54.

## CHAPTER V

### *SHĀH ISMĀ'IL'S CAMPAIGNS IN THE EAST*

The conquest of the Central Asian Uzbeks, who, under the leadership of Muḥammad Khān Shaybānī or Shaybānī Khān (ibn Būdāq Sultān ibn 'Abu'l-Khayr Khān<sup>1</sup> ibn Dawlat Shaykh Ūghalān ibn Īlati Ūghalān<sup>2</sup> ibn Fūlād Ūghalān ibn Ayba Khwāja ibn Taghtāi ibn Bulaghtān ibn Shaybān ibn Jūji ibn Chingīz Khān<sup>3</sup>), had become the sole masters of Khurāsān by extirpating the Tīmūrid dynasty<sup>4</sup> of Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā and his successors, is one of the most signal achievements of Shāh Ismā'il, whose eastern frontier thus became conterminous with the river Oxus.

#### *(1) Causes of Hostility between Shāh Ismā'il and Shaybānī Khān.*

After annexing Khurāsān in 913/1507, the virile Uzbek, Shaybānī Khān, had (in the winter of 915/1509-10) released a contingent for the invasion of Kirmān, which lay in Shāh Ismā'il's territories<sup>5</sup>. The pre-occupation of the Shāh in Darband enabled the raiders to put the mayor of Kirmān, Shaykh Muḥammad, to death<sup>6</sup>, and to plunder Kirmān and the adjacent territory<sup>7</sup>.

The first Ṣafawī envoy, Diyā'u'd-Dīn Nūru'llāh, failed in his mission to recall Shaybānī Khān to his senses; and the second envoy, Muḥyi'd-Dīn alias Shaykh-Zāda Lāhiji, sent from Ulang-i-Kharqān, was equally unsuccessful. In an insolent letter sent through Kamālu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn Abīwardī<sup>8</sup>, Shaybānī Khān claimed sovereignty over Persia in the name of his grandfather (Abu'l-Khayr Khān), and demanded that Ismā'il "the Superintendent" should introduce in the Ṣafawī coinage, and in the Khuṭbas of his mosques, the august titles of his Uzbek over-lord (i.e. Shaybānī Khān). Further, the ultimatum demanded that the Persian roads be kept in repairs for the victorious Uzbek armies desire to visit the Ka'ba; otherwise, "ʿUbaydu'llāh Bahādur Khān (ʿUbaydu'llāh Khān ibn Sultān Maḥmūd ibn Būdāq Khān ibn Abu'l-Khayr Khān) will march with his legions from Bukhārā, Samarqand, Hazāra, Nikūdarī, Ghūr and Gharjistān; Tīmūr

<sup>1</sup> Jp. 299. Vp. 222 incorrectly calls Shaybānī Khān "the son of 'Abu'l-Khayr Khān". (For his detailed account see Xpp. 127-305. Ypp. 244-273, and *Howorth's History of the Mongols, part II, Division II* (London, 1880), pp. 691-713.)

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 161b.

<sup>3</sup> Dp. 123.

<sup>4</sup> For its detailed account see Jpp. 201-374.

<sup>5</sup> App. 54-55.

<sup>6</sup> Bf. 176b.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 55.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.



Bahādur Khān (Muḥammad Timūr Sultān ibn Shaybānī Khān) will lead his armies from the frontiers of Qunduz, Baqlān, Ḥiṣār-i-Shādmān and Badakhshān up to Turkistān; and Sunjūk Bahādur Khān (Sunjūk Khān ibn Abu'l-Khayr Khān), Ḥamza Bahādur Khān and Mahdi Bahādur Khān (Ḥamza Sultān and Mahdi Sultān) will direct the centre, and the right and left wings of an army, recruited from Andijān, Shāh-Rukhiya, Tāshkand, Shahr-i-Sabz, Utrār, Sirān, Ūrganj, Khwārazm, the banks of the river Oxus, Kāshghar and Munqāt to the borders of Dasht-i-Qipchāq and Qalmāq ”<sup>1</sup>.

To this blustering document, Shāh Ismā‘īl sent a calm reply expressing his resolve to circumambulate the tomb of Imām ‘Alī ar-Riḍā <sup>10</sup> (at Mashhad) and expecting a worthy reception from the Khān <sup>2</sup>.

The origin of the Ṣafawī-Uzbek quarrel, given in the *Tarikh-i-Rashīdī*, is as follows:—

(Shāh Ismā‘īl had remonstrated with Shaybānī Khān for the wanton Uzbek attack upon Kirmān, which he called his hereditary dominions. To which he received the jeering answer) “that he did not understand on what Shah Ismael founded his claim to hereditary dominions; that sovereignty descended through the father not the mother <sup>3</sup>—through males not females; and that the unequal match between his family and the females of Uzun Hasan’s (or Amīr Ḥasan Beg’s) could confer no right. He reminded him of the saying, that the son should follow his father’s trade, the daughter her mother’s; and insultingly sent him as a present, a lady’s veil and beggar’s dish; adding ‘If thou hast forgot thy father’s trade, this may serve to recall it to thy memory; but if thou wouldst place thy foot on the steps of the throne, remember:

‘He that would clasp to his breast, Royalty as his bride,  
Must woo her in the battle-fray, athwart sharp scymetars.’

“In conclusion he remarked, that, as he intended soon, like a good Musalmān, to perform the pilgrimage to Mekka, he would make a point of seeing him on his way through Irāk.

“The youthful warrior (i.e. Shāh Ismā‘īl), who professed to feel a pride in his descent from a family of holy darvishes, that gloried in their voluntary poverty, received the Uzbek’s taunts with affected humility. He returned for answer, ‘That if every man was bound to follow his father’s trade, all being sons of Adam, must adhere to that of prophets: that if hereditary descent conferred the only right to sovereignty, he did not see how it had

<sup>1</sup> Bff. 177b-178b.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 55.

<sup>3</sup> The Uzbeks questioned the paternity of Shāh Ismā‘īl’s ancestors; but acknowledged that the Shāh’s mother was the daughter of Uzūn Ḥasan or Amīr Ḥasan Beg, the Āq-Quyūnlū. On the other hand Shaybānī Khān was the direct descendant of Chingiz Khān.

descended from Peshdādī to the Kyāni dynasties of Persia, or how it had come to Chingiz or to him whom he addressed.

‘Boast not thyself, O, vain youth, of thy father, who is dead;

Pride not thyself on bones, as if thou wert a dog.’

“That he on his part proposed making a pilgrimage to the shrine of Imām Reza at Meshīd where he would have an opportunity of waiting on the Khan. In return for his present, he sent him a spindle and distaff; and alluding to his quotation, that Royalty must be wooed in the battle-field, he concluded, ‘And so say I also. Lo, I have tightened my girdle for a deadly contest, and have placed the foot of determination in the stirrup of victory. If thou wilt meet me face to face, like a man, our quarrel will at once be decided. But if thou wouldst rather slink into a corner, then thou mayst find what I have sent thee of some use.

We have spared quite long enough, let us now exchange hard blows in the field.

He who falls, borne down in the combat, let him fall’.”<sup>1</sup>

Shaybānī Khān had, in the beginning of summer 916/1510, led a wild and fruitless campaign against the elusive Hazāras east of Hirāt<sup>2</sup>. The Uzbek troops were worn out by intense thirst, the transport camels died in large numbers, and winter was near at hand, when Shaybānī Khān retreated with his shattered forces to Hirāt. To allow the army to recuperate<sup>3</sup>, “he granted a general leave of absence to his troops, allowing every man to return for the winter to his own country and home, however distant”<sup>4</sup>.

## (2) *The Campaign against Shaybānī Khān.*

Shāh Ismā‘il entertained his troops to a sumptuous feast at Sulṭān-Bulāghī, distributed 23,000 tūmāns and other presents amongst his officers, and began his march on Khurāsān.

Aḥmad Sulṭān, son-in-law of Shaybānī Khān and governor of Dām-ghān, Aḥmad Qunqurāt, governor of Astarābād, and similarly governors of other forts fled before the Shāh. Sayyid Rafī‘, Bābā Nūdhār, and other leading men paid homage to the Shāh at Bistām, and Khwāja Muẓaffar Bitikchī, minister to the fugitive governor of Astarābād, was appointed minister by the Shāh at Jājarm.

Shāh Ismā‘il was almost near Mashhad<sup>5</sup>, when Shaybānī Khān, who had demobilized his troops after his return from the Hazāra campaign<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> I. pp. 232-33, X. pp. 299-300.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231. (For a detailed note on “Hazāras” see *Ḥasan Bey Rūmlū’s Aḥsanu’l-Tawārīkh* : Trans. C. N. Seddon, Calcutta, 1934, p. 238.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231, X. p. 297.

<sup>5</sup> App. 55-56.

<sup>6</sup> See above.

heard of the Shāh's advance and fled precipitately from Hirāt to Marw, followed by Jān Wafā Mirzā, governor of Hirāt. Then followed a mass flight of the Uzbeks from Hirāt, which compelled the pro-Uzbek party, represented by Khwāja Khurd and Sultān Maḥmūd, to take refuge in the fort of Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn <sup>1</sup>.

The position now was as follows: Shāh Ismā'il was at Mashhad visiting the shrine of Imām 'Alī ar-Riḍā, while Shaybānī Khān was at Marw, strengthening the fortifications and calling reinforcements from 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān <sup>2</sup>, Muḥammad Timūr Sultān <sup>3</sup>, and other Khāns, i.e. from Bukhārā, Samarqand, and elsewhere <sup>4</sup>.

At Tāhirābād took place the first engagement between the advance-guards of the Ṣafawīs and the Uzbeks <sup>5</sup>, which resulted in the flight of the Uzbeks to Marw, notwithstanding the death of the Ṣafawī leader, Dānā Muḥammad Beg <sup>6</sup> Afshār <sup>7</sup>, whom the Shāh had despatched from Sarakhs.

Shāh Ismā'il reached Marw <sup>8</sup> on Sha'bān 20, 916 <sup>9</sup>/Nov. 22, 1510, and besieged the city. For seven days the Qizil-Bāsh generals, like Dīw Sultān Rūmlū, Jāyān Sultān Ustājilū, Bādinjān Sultān Rūmlū, Zaynal Sultān Shāmlū, and particularly Muḥammad Sultān Tālīsh battered at the city-gates, whence the Uzbeks refused to emerge in the absence of reinforcements from Transoxiana <sup>10</sup>.

Dreading the enormous casualties that would accrue if his 'officers' plan of carrying the city by assault was accepted, the Shāh planned a ruse on Wednesday, Sha'bān 28, 916/Nov. 30, 1510, and withdrew his army ten miles from Marw to the village of Maḥmūdī. "You wrote to us," said the Shāh in a letter to Shaybānī Khān, "that you would proceed towards 'Irāq and Ādharbāyjān en route to Mecca, and wanted us in consequence to keep the road in repairs. (And conversely) we informed you of our desire to proceed to Khurāsān, to circumambulate the tomb of Imām 'Alī ar-Riḍā at Mashhad, and desired you to salute our world-conquering flag. Lo, we have paid a visit to the holy tomb, but you have not yet come forward to receive us. We then came to meet you at Marw, but you closed the city-gates upon us; wherefore, we have returned to spend the winter elsewhere in Khurāsān and shall come again in spring to meet you." The letter was despatched on Thursday evening. On Friday morning, the Shāh struck camp for Talakhtān, leaving <sup>11</sup> 300 <sup>12</sup> horse under Amir Beg Mawṣilū at the bridge of Maḥmūdī canal with instructions to fly on the immediate appearance of the Uzbek army <sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Dp. 116.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57. Sp. 65 incorrectly states that the decisive battle was fought at Tāhirābād. For the actual place of the battle see p. 62, *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> Bf. 182b.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 57.

<sup>9</sup> Dp. 117.

<sup>10</sup> Bff. 182-184a.

<sup>11</sup> App. 57-58.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58. Bf. 37b gives "600", but no other authority agrees with it.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Lured by the feigned retreat, and disregarding the counsels of his generals, Shaybānī Khān marched from Marw<sup>1</sup>, on Friday, Sha'bān 30, 916/Dec. 2, 1510, at the head of an army<sup>2</sup> variously estimated at 15,000<sup>3</sup>, 20,000<sup>4</sup>, 28,000<sup>5</sup>, or 30,000<sup>6</sup>, which had not yet been augmented with the expected quotas from Transoxiana. On the way, he received the Shāh's letter, and sent back his prime-minister and ex-cupbearer<sup>7</sup>, Khwāja Kamālu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, with instructions to detain the Shāh's envoy at Marw, and to send reinforcements from the city. The flight of Amīr Beg Mawṣilū from the Maḥmūdī canal bridge confirmed Shaybānī Khān in his hasty conclusions; and he crossed the Siyāh-Āb "like lightning" in pursuit of the enemy.

The strength of the Ṣafawī army is variously estimated at 3,000 to 4,000<sup>8</sup> or 17,000<sup>9</sup> or even 40,000<sup>10</sup>: the higher figure seems more reliable for the troops were recruited from all the provinces of Persia<sup>11</sup>. Between Maḥmūdī canal (ten miles from Marw) and Talakhtān<sup>12</sup>, therefore, on Friday, Sha'bān 30, 916<sup>13</sup>/Dec. 2, 1510, the Ṣafawī army, captained by the Shāh in person, and containing his celebrated generals: Najm-i-Thānī, Bayrām Beg Qarāmānī, Jāyān Sultān Ustājilū, Dīw Sultān Rūmlū, Ḥusayn Beg Lala, Dada Beg Ṭālish, Dūrmīsh Khān Shāmlū, Amīr Beg Mawṣilū, Muḥammad Sultān Ṭālish, Bādīnjān Sultān Rūmlū and Zaynal Sultān Shāmlū, was drawn up in full battle array, when Shaybānī Khān appeared with his Uzbeks in the hope of harassing a flying enemy. Bitterly repenting of his folly, but courageous to the end, Shaybānī Khān fought a desperate battle in which his wing-commanders, Jān Wafā Mirzā and Qanbar Bey, overthrew the advancing-squadrons of the Ṣafawīs. At that critical moment, Shāh Ismā'il prostrated himself before God and prayed for success. Then with his drawn sword he hurled his charger into the thick of the fight. He was followed by his soldiers, who made a general attack on the enemy. The Uzbeks were utterly routed; 10,000 of them were killed in battle or slain in pursuit and drowned in the Siyāh-Āb<sup>14</sup>. The Uzbek roll of honour included Jalālu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, Mu'izu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn, 'Abdu'llāh Marwī<sup>15</sup>, Māmūshī and Qāḍī Mansūr<sup>16</sup>; also the wing-commanders, Jān Wafā Mirzā and Qanbar Bey, who were put to death after capture.

Far more tragic was the fate of Shaybānī Khān, who, whilst escaping with 500 horse, inadvertently rode into an enclosed farmyard with no gate on the further side. In this death-trap he and his companions were pierced

<sup>1</sup> Bff. 186a-186b.

<sup>4</sup> Lp. 234.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 58.

<sup>10</sup> Lp. 234.

<sup>12</sup> See p. 61, *supra*. Sp. 63 incorrectly states that the decisive battle was fought at Tahirābād near Marw.

<sup>13</sup> See *above*.

<sup>15</sup> Ap. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Vp. 243.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 57, *supra*.

<sup>14</sup> Bff. 187b-189a.

<sup>16</sup> Bf. 190b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 205b.

<sup>6</sup> Fp. 28.

<sup>9</sup> Fp. 28.

by the arrows of Būrūn Sultān<sup>1</sup> Takkalū<sup>2</sup> and his Qizil-Bāshes, and fell in a ghastly heap: 'Aziz Āqā alias Ādī Bahādur disentangled the body of the Uzbek monarch, cut off the head, and hurried with the trophy to the presence of the Shāh.

After removing the skull, which was converted into a drinking cup, the head stuffed with straw was sent to the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd II with the message: "We have heard that it used to be said in your assembly: strange is the sovereignty we see displayed in the head of Shaybānī Khān: lo, we are now sending you the same head stuffed with straw"<sup>3</sup>. Further, after the fall of Marw, effected without opposition, the Shāh invited the Uzbek premier, Khwāja Kamālū'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, to a drinking party. "Do you recognize this cup?" said the Shāh, who was drinking out of the gold-plated skull of Shaybānī Khān<sup>4</sup>. "Yes, glory be to God," replied Kamālū'd-Dīn; "and how favoured by fortune was he! Nay, fortune still abides with him, so that even now he rests in the hands of so auspicious a being as thyself, who continually drinks the wine of Delight."<sup>5</sup>

This was the end of Shaybānī Khān: he was 61 years of age at the time of his death and had reigned eleven years<sup>6</sup>. Of his 10,000 followers, who had fallen with him in battle<sup>7</sup>, the victor raised pyramids of skulls<sup>8</sup>, to decorate the gates of the town of Marw, which had peacefully capitulated. Dada Beg Ṭālish became the new governor of Marw<sup>9</sup>; the inhabitants, save the Uzbeks<sup>10</sup>, were given quarter; and Khān-Zāda Begum was sent with honour to her brother Bābur<sup>11</sup>. This lady had fallen into the hands of Shaybānī Khān at Samarqand in the summer of 906<sup>12</sup>/1601, and had borne him a son, Khurram Shāh Sultān, who was appointed governor of Balkh in 913<sup>13</sup>/1507. Subsequently, she was divorced out of fear that she might, in concert with her brother, plot against her husband's life. She was then given in marriage to Sayyid Hādī, who fell fighting for Shaybānī Khān in the battle against Shāh Ismā'īl<sup>14</sup>.

To commemorate his success, Shāh Ismā'īl struck gold coins<sup>15</sup>, and sent proclamations of victory to various provinces<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> App. 59-60.

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 189b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 189b-190b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 190b-191b.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 191b. (Translation from Spp. 65-66.)

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 192a. "According to the version current in Central Asia, his mortal remains were buried in the same year that he died, 916/1510, in the splendid college he had built in Samarkand, and his grave there is held in universal reverence down to the present day as that of a Shohid (Martyr)" (Yp. 270).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 190b.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 61.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 191b.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 60. According to Lp. 235 a general massacre took place in the town.

<sup>11</sup> K, Vol. I, p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15. Lp. 196 gives that Shaybānī Khān proposed to make peace with Bābur, if he would give his sister Khān-Zāda Begum in marriage to him. "Bābur Pādishāh gave up Khān-Zāda Begum in exchange for his own life and escaped."

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Lp. 239.

<sup>15</sup> Bf. 191b.

<sup>16</sup> Ap. 60.

The poets of Transoxiana composed “کلاه سرخ” as the chronogram of Shaybānī Khān’s death, from which the wits of Persia obtained the complete anagram “خبرس هلاک”<sup>1</sup>.

### (3) *Visit to Hirāt and Return to ‘Irāq.*

On Ramaḍān 7, 916/Dec. 8, 1510, Qulī Jān Beg, a servant of Najm-i-Thānī, reached Hirāt as the precursor of Shāh Ismā‘il. The pro-Şafawī party rose upon the police-officers, Muḥammad Lakūrā<sup>2</sup> and Muḥammad ‘Alī<sup>3</sup>, who, together with a hundred Uzbeks, were put to death.

A week later, Khwāja Khurd was persuaded by Najm-i-Thānī and Khwāja Maḥmūd to evacuate the fort of Ikhtiyārū’d-Dīn; and on Ramaḍān 20, 916/Dec. 21, 1510, the Shāh made his public entry into Hirāt and alighted in the Bāgh-i-Jahān Ārā. Ḥusayn Beg Lala was appointed governor of the city and Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn Muḥammad chief-justice<sup>4</sup>. Badi‘u’z-Zamān Mirzā ibn Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mirzā, who had fled to India after his defeat by the Uzbek governor, Aḥmad Qunqurāt, at Astarābād<sup>5</sup>, was awarded a daily pension of a thousand dīnārs, and was ordered to reside at Shunb-i-Ghāzān near Tabrīz<sup>6</sup>; while Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā ibn Badi‘u’z-Zamān Mirzā was appointed governor of Dāmghān<sup>7</sup>.

For the honour shown to Khān-Zāda Begum, Khān Mirzā brought the thanks of Bābur<sup>8</sup>; and Shujā‘ Beg ibn Dhu’n-Nūn, ruler of Qandahār, came in person to tender his allegiance to the Shāh<sup>9</sup>.

Rustam Rūz-afzūn, the ruler of eastern Māzandarān<sup>10</sup>, died, whereupon, his son and successor, Āqā Muḥammad, found himself confronted with a pretender, Niẓāmu’d-Dīn ‘Abdu’l-Karīm, who claimed all Māzandarān for himself. To arbitrate between the rivals<sup>11</sup>, and in particular to realize the arrears of tribute<sup>12</sup>, Khwāja Muẓaffar Bitikchī was despatched to Māzandarān<sup>13</sup>.

In the beginning of 917<sup>14</sup>/April, 1511, Shāh Ismā‘il left Hirāt for the subjugation of Transoxiana<sup>15</sup>. ‘Ubaydu’llāh Khān and Muḥammad Timūr Sulṭān, the rulers of Bukhārā and Samarqand respectively, had tried to rush reinforcements to Marw, but finding that Shaybānī Khān was already dead, had returned with his widow Mughūl Khānum, whom ‘Ubaydu’llāh Khān had taken to wife<sup>16</sup>. Envoys from these two and Jānī Beg Sulṭān<sup>17</sup> (ibn Khwāja Muḥammad ibn Abū’l Khayr Khān<sup>18</sup>), the ruler of Karmina and Khujand, met the Shāh at Maymana. Eventually, through

<sup>1</sup> Bf. 192a.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60. \*Bf. 194a gives “Pahlawān”.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 176a.

<sup>6</sup> Jp. 368.

<sup>7</sup> Bf. 196b.

<sup>8</sup> Lp. 239. (Also see p. 66, *infra*.)

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 75.

<sup>10</sup> Bf. 201b.

<sup>11</sup> App. 63-64.

<sup>12</sup> Bf. 201b.

<sup>13</sup> Ap. 64.

<sup>14</sup> Bf. 197b.

<sup>15</sup> Ap. 63.

<sup>16</sup> Bf. 200a.

<sup>17</sup> Ap. 63.

<sup>18</sup> Rn. 273.

the intercession of Khwāja Maḥmūd, a treaty was signed, whereby the Uzbeks were left in possession of Transoxiana and the Shāh was guaranteed absence of molestation in his territories on this side of Oxus. Balkh and its dependencies such as Andkhwud, Shibarghān, Jijiktū, Maymana, Fāryāb and Marghāb up to the Oxus<sup>1</sup> were put in charge of Bayrām Beg Qamrāmānī<sup>2</sup>. Shujā‘ Beg of Qandahār, who had shown signs of disobedience, was imprisoned in the fort of Ikhtiyāru‘d-Dīn, and order having been restored in Khurāsān the Shāh struck camp for ‘Irāq.

At Simnān, the rival claimants of Māzandarān waited on the Shāh. Āqā Muḥammad was awarded the territory ruled by his father Rustam Rūzafzūn; the rest of Māzandarān was to be administered by ‘Abdu’l-Karīm<sup>3</sup>. Thirty thousand<sup>4</sup> tūmāns were to be paid conjointly by these rulers into the royal treasury, and Khwāja Muzaffar Bitikchī was to realize the money<sup>5</sup>.

At Ray, the Shāh received the immigrants of Asia Minor, led by Şūfiyān Khalifa Rūmlū, the successor of Bābā Shāh Qulī ibn Bābā Ḥasan Takkalū<sup>6</sup>. These people, from Karmiyān in Asia Minor, known as Takka-Īlī, were hereditary supporters of the Şafawis: Bābā Ḥasan Takkalū had visited Sulṭān Junayd once and Sulṭān Ḥaydar twice<sup>7</sup>; and tradition and the victories of Shāh Ismā‘īl alike demanded that the son of Bābā Ḥasan Takkalū should wait upon the son of Sulṭān Ḥaydar. But Bābā Shāh Qulī decided to go with a retinue<sup>8</sup>, and since he and his followes were Ottoman subjects, the Ottoman governor of Mantsha-Īlī and Takka-Īlī attacked these seditionists<sup>9</sup>, with a thousand men<sup>10</sup>, but was worsted in the fight, and was put to death with most of the troops<sup>11</sup>; whereupon, the number of Şafawī devotees rose to 10,000 or even to 20,000<sup>12</sup>.

Qarā Kūz Pāshā, the governor of Qarāmān, hastened to crush the rebellion<sup>13</sup>, but lost his life in the ensuing skirmish<sup>14</sup>, whereupon, the rebels invaded the surrounding districts<sup>15</sup> and proceeded to Siwās.

The revolt had now reached such proportions that the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd II was constrained to send his prince-minister, Khādim ‘Alī Pāshā, with 50,000 men, to effect its suppression. In the desperate battle, that

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 63. A incorrectly adds "Gharjistān" to the list. It was not yet conquered by the Shāh. (For the conquest of Gharjistān see p. 90, *infra*.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63. He was also created a "Khān" (Bf. 201a).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64. Bf. 202a and Dp. 124 incorrectly give "20,000" and "3,000" respectively.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> Bf. 202b.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 42b.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 202b.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 202b.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 202b. Dp. 124 gives "4,000".

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 203a.

<sup>12</sup> Mf. 51a.

<sup>13</sup> Bf. 203a.

<sup>14</sup> Mf. 51b. Bf. 203a incorrectly states that he fled from the field of battle.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 51b.

took place at the village<sup>1</sup> of Kūk-Khānī<sup>2</sup>, the Ottoman premier was killed together with most of his soldiers; but Bābā Shāh Qulī also lost his life, and was succeeded by Şūfiyān Khalifa Rūmlū, whom the rebels elected to be the head of their Order<sup>3</sup>.

Unhampered and unmolested, the rebels devastated the surrounding districts<sup>4</sup>, and after passing Arzinjān on their way to Persia, attacked a caravan of 500 tradesmen, seized the goods and ruthlessly slaughtered the merchants<sup>5</sup>. Similarly, at Shabistar, they looted the house of Shaykh Ibrāhīm, whom together with his son, they put to death. Consequently, upon the arrival of these wild devotees at Tabriz, the inhabitants charged them with highway robbery and murder<sup>6</sup>; and the Shāh, notwithstanding the fact that the accused were his partisans, put several of them to death. Subsequently, however, he granted land at Turbat in Khurāsān to Şūfiyān Khalifa Rūmlū<sup>7</sup>.

During the winter of 917/1511-12, amidst the Shāh's hunting expeditions—one at Qum, another at Farāhān, and two others at Sāwa, wherein the animals slain were 26,000, 57,000, 16,000 and 15,000 respectively—there arrived at Qum envoys from the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd II and from Sultān Qānşū Ghūrī of Egypt to tender congratulations and offer presents on the conquest of Khurāsān. Shāh Ismā'il sent them back with presents and messages of friendship.

Of administrative events, mention should be made of the first instalment of 10,000 tūmāns brought by Khwāja Muzaḥḥar Bitikchī<sup>8</sup>, and of the resignation of Sharīfu'd-Dīn 'Alī, the Chancellor, who was succeeded by Niẓāmu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Bāqī<sup>9</sup>.

In the ensuing spring (of 918/1512), the Shāh moved to the summer-quarters of Sūrlūq, where he arranged for a hunting expedition in which 24,000 animals were slain. At the end of summer, the Shāh proceeded to Isfahān to spend the winter<sup>10</sup> (of 918/1512-13).

#### (4) *Coalition with Bābur against the Uzbeks.*

The news of the defeat of Shaybānī Khān conveyed by Khān Mīrzā in Ramaḍān, 916/Dec., 1510, induced Bābur to strike for the recovery of his throne of Samarqand; and though the winter was severe, he advanced from Kābul, joined forces with Khān Mīrzā at Badakhshān, and advanced on Ḥiṣār-i-Shādmān, then occupied by Ḥamza Sultān and Mahdī Sultān. This campaign proved abortive; Bābur returned to Qunduz; and Khān Mīrzā was despatched to Shāh Ismā'il to thank him for the safe transport of Khān-Zāda Begum, and to obtain support and assistance.

<sup>1</sup> Bff. 203a-203b.

<sup>2</sup> Mf. 51b, but according to Turkish historian cited by Sp. 71 "Gyuk Chāy".

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 203b.

<sup>4</sup> Mf. 51b.

<sup>5</sup> Bff. 203b-204a.

<sup>6</sup> Mf. 52a.

<sup>7</sup> Bf. 204a.

<sup>8</sup> App. 64-65.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 208a.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 69.



On Khān Mirzā's return <sup>1</sup>, but without the expected reinforcements <sup>2</sup>, Bābur marched once more against the Uzbeks, and (early in 1511 A.D.) succeeded in dispersing their ranks: Ḥamza Sulṭān and Mahdī Sulṭān were taken captive and put to death <sup>3</sup> as traitors for they had once been in Bābur's service and had deserted him to join the cause of Shaybānī Khān <sup>4</sup>.

Encouraged by this success, Bābur sought the help of Shāh Ismā'il <sup>5</sup>, to enable him to recover Samarqand and Bukhārā, which belonged to him by right of inheritance <sup>6</sup>, promising in return to strike coins in the name of the Shāh <sup>7</sup>. Eventually, the Shāh's reinforcements under the command of Aḥmad Beg Šūfi Ūghlī and Shāh Rukh Beg Afshār reached Bābur at Ḥiṣār-i-Shādmān, whereupon, he set out and occupied Bukhārā. The Uzbek rulers fled <sup>8</sup> towards Turkistān, and the allied forces entered Samarqand in the middle of Rajab, 917 <sup>9</sup>/Oct., 1511. After faithfully carrying out his promise to the Shāh as regards the coinage <sup>10</sup>, Bābur allowed the Qizil-Bāsh troops to return home <sup>11</sup>.

In the spring of 918/1512, the Uzbek rulers, seeing that the Qizil-Bāsh troops had been demobilized and sent home, took heart, and completely overthrew Bābur in a desperate battle, fought near Bukhārā <sup>12</sup>, in Šafar, 918 <sup>13</sup>/May, 1512. Bābur was constrained to renounce Bukhārā and Samarqand, and to take refuge in Ḥiṣār-i-Shādmān, whither, 300 Qizil-Bāshes under the command of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shīrāzī were rushed as reinforcements from the governor of Balkh, Bayrām Khān Qarāmānī. This news made the Uzbeks return from "Chaghāniyān" <sup>14</sup>, although how they advanced to so far without taking Ḥiṣār-i-Shādmān is uncertain.

To help Bābur, his faithful ally, and to pull the Uzbek thorn up by the root, Shāh Ismā'il sent the flower of his army consisting of 12,000 <sup>15</sup> horse, officered by Zaynu'l-Ābidīn Beg Šafawī, Qarā Piri Beg Qājār, Zaynal Sulṭān Shāmlū <sup>16</sup>, Bādinjān Sulṭān Rūmlū and Khwāja Maḥmud <sup>17</sup>, under

<sup>1</sup> Lpp. 237-239.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243 incorrectly states that he returned with the auxiliary force which had been sent by Shāh Ismā'il.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 243-245.

<sup>4</sup> Xp. 145. Ap. 66 incorrectly states that they lost their lives in the battle.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 66.

<sup>6</sup> Bf. 206b.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 66. Lp. 245 omits the whole of this statement.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>9</sup> Lp. 246.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 66. Lp. 246 does not support this statement. It is, however, proved by numismatical evidence (see *R. S. Poole's Catalogue of Persian Coins, London, 1887*, Intro., pp. xxiv-xxix). K, Vol. II, Supp., p. 72, incorrectly states that Bābur struck the coins in his own name.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66. Lpp. 245-246 incorrectly states that Bābur allowed them to return from Bukhārā.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>13</sup> Lp. 260.

<sup>14</sup> Ap. 67.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66. Lp. 260 gives "60,000", which seems to be exaggerated.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>17</sup> Bf. 207b.

the supreme command of Najm-i-Thānī<sup>1</sup>. En route, Ḥusayn Beg Lala and Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad brought their quotas from Hirāt and Dada Beg Ṭalish from Marw. On reaching Balkh, Najm-i-Thānī despatched Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad to summon Bābur from Ḥiṣār-i-Shādmān; and taking Bayrām Khān Qarāmānī from Balkh, he crossed the river Oxus by a bridge of boats at Tirmidh in Rajab, 918/Sept., 1512. At Tang-i-Jukjuk, also known as Darband-i-Āhanīn, Bābur joined the Ṣafawī army, which now set out for Bukhārā.

The fort of Khuzār voluntarily capitulated, but the garrison and Āq-Fūlād Sulṭān, the governor, were treacherously done to death. The fort of Qarshī was taken on the third day of the siege, and as a reprisal for the conduct of the governor, Shaykhum Mirzā, who had refused to submit, 15,000 inhabitants of Qarshī, notwithstanding the intercession<sup>2</sup> of Bābur<sup>3</sup> and Ghiyāth'ud-Dīn Muḥammad, were ruthlessly massacred. After these wild orgies Najm-i-Thānī moved on to Bukhārā<sup>4</sup>.

On the approach of the Ṣafawī army, the Uzbeks changed their tactics and took refuge in the fort of Ghujduwān. Najm-i-Thānī laid siege; the fort held out; the provisions of the besiegers ran short; and disregarding the suggestion of Bābur and Khwāja Maḥmūd to suspend operations till spring, Najm-i-Thānī decided to force the issue by a general assault. Before this could be done, "Ubaydu'llāh Khān and Jānī Beg Sulṭān came up with a large army to the succour of the garrison, and an open battle was consequently fought<sup>5</sup>, on Ramaḍān 3<sup>6</sup>, 918/Nov. 12, 1512. The Uzbek attack was repulsed with the loss of 200 men, but Bayrām Khān Qarāmānī received a fatal shot<sup>7</sup>, and his death disheartened the Qizil-Bāsh army. Dada Beg

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 66. According to Persian sources the campaign of Najm-i-Thānī was originally directed against Bābur, who had ill-treated a servant of Najm-i-Thānī at Samarqand. This servant poisoned the Shāh's mind against Bābur, charging him with rebellion. This is totally incorrect. Bābur, on the other hand, had been true to his words, not only in connection with the coinage, but he also adopted the Qizil-Bāshes' costume for himself and for his troops. This, however, caused great hatred against Bābur in the minds of his subjects (Lp. 246 and footnote), and was one of the chief causes of his defeat at the hands of the Uzbeks in Ṣafar, 918/May, 1512. Yp. 276 and Xp. 323 incorrectly call Najm-i-Thānī "the governor of the province of Khurāsān". He was "counsellor" to the Shāh.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-68.

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 215a.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. 68. Yp. 276 and *Howorth's Hist. of the Mongols, part II, Division II* (London, 1880), p. 713, incorrectly state that Bābur was at this occasion greatly disgusted with Najm-i-Thānī, and left him to proceed to Bukhārā alone.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68. Sp. 74 footnote and K, Vol. II, Supp., p. 74, incorrectly give the date as "Ramaḍān 17, 918/Nov. 26, 1512 and Oct. 22, 1514" respectively. (Also see Xp. 325, footnote 1.)

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Tālish was the first to flee<sup>1</sup>, followed successively by Bābur and his reserves<sup>2</sup>, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad and Khwāja Maḥmūd<sup>3</sup>.

Notwithstanding these defections, Najm-i-Thānī, who was a good soldier though a bad general, fighting with his hand not his head, charged the Uzbek ranks, and, for a while, his sword ran red with the blood of the enemy<sup>4</sup>, but finally he was surrounded by 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān's soldiers<sup>5</sup>, fell from his horse<sup>6</sup>, and was captured alive. He was brought before 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān and instantly beheaded<sup>7</sup>. His head, uplifted on a spear, was paraded before the Qizil-Bāsh army, which turned and fled pursued by the Uzbeks<sup>8</sup>. Muḥyi'd-Dīn Yaḥyā and Mīr Jān were overtaken and slain; Ḥusayn Beg Lala and Aḥmad Beg Šūfi Ūghlī saved their life though not their honour, by alluding pursuit<sup>9</sup>; and only the memory remained of Bayrām Khān Qarāmānī, Najm-i-Thānī and Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn Beg Šafawī to atone Persia for the humiliation of a crushing defeat.

(5) *The Loss and Recovery of Khurāsān.*

Encouraged by the victory of Ghujduwān, Jānī Beg Sultān crossed the river Oxus and made for Hirāt. This news arrived at Hirāt<sup>10</sup> on Ramaḍān 17, 918/Nov. 26, 1512, followed three days later by the fugitives Ḥusayn Beg Lala and Aḥmad Beg Šūfi Ūghlī, and a little later by another fugitive, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, who had parted company with Khwāja Maḥmūd at Balkh<sup>11</sup>. Hurriedly the fortifications of Hirāt were improved and the four gates of the city—Malik, Fīrūzābād, Khwush and 'Irāq—were placed in charge of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, 'Imādu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, Sultān Maḥmūd and an unspecified officer respectively.

Jānī Beg Sultān laid the siege of Hirāt in Dhu'l-Q., 918/Jan., 1513, and though he was helped subsequently by 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān, the city held out for two months, until on the morning of Naw-Rūz<sup>12</sup>, Friday<sup>13</sup>, Muḥarram 3, 919/Mar. 11, 1513, the siege was raised to the intense delight of the inhabitants<sup>14</sup>. Near Murghāb, however, the retreating Uzbeks met Muḥammad Timūr Sultān and his reinforcements<sup>15</sup>, whereupon, Jānī Beg Sultān parted company to proceed to his seat of government at Karmīna, whilst 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān returned with Muḥammad Timūr Sultān to occupy Tūs and Mashhad. The fall of these towns and the absence of help from the Shāh made the Qizil-Bāsh party desert Hirāt: the city was taken by Muḥammad Timūr Sultān, who struck coins in his name<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bf. 216b.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 69. Lp. 261 states that after the battle "Bābur retired, broken and crest-fallen, to Ḥiṣār(-i-Shādmān)".

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 217a.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 69.

<sup>6</sup> Bf. 217a.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 59.

<sup>8</sup> Bf. 217a.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 69.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. 207a.

<sup>14</sup> Ap. 71.

<sup>15</sup> Bf. 220a.

<sup>16</sup> Ap. 71.

Meanwhile Shāh Ismā‘il was in winter-quarters at Iṣfahān in 918 <sup>1</sup>/1513. A son was born to him, on Dhu'l-H. 26, 918 <sup>2</sup>/Mar. 3, 1513, at Shāh-Ābād near Iṣfahān <sup>3</sup>, and was named ‘Abu'l-Faṭḥ Ṭahmāsp Mirzā. Hard on the heels of this joy, followed news of the tragic defeat at Ghujduwān, and of the Uzbek invasion of Khurāsān. Burning with revenge, the Shāh marched via Sāwa, Firūz-Kūh, Sulṭān Maydān, Kālpūsh and Ulung-i-Rādikān to Mashhad. At Sāwa, he stayed ten days and ordered provisions for a three months' campaign; at Firūz-Kūh, where the halt was again ten days, he made Sharifu'd-Dīn ‘Alī (who had returned from ‘Irāq) chancellor, and Nizāmu'd-Dīn ‘Abdu'l-Bāqī counsellor; at Bistām, he reviewed the army during a few days' halt; and at Kālpūsh, he received the welcome news that ‘Ubaydu'llāh Khān had fled from Mashhad to Marw, en route to Bukhārā, and that Muḥammad Timūr Sulṭān had likewise fled from Hirāt to Samarqand.

On the flight of Muḥammad Timūr Sulṭān, disturbances arose in Hirāt especially, as the city was depleted of its leading citizens, like Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Jalālu'd-Dīn Qāsim Farnakhwudī, Qāsim Khwānd Amīr and Shāh Ḥusayn Khiyābānī, who were forced to accompany the Uzbek chief to Samarqand.

For a time, ‘Abu'l-Qāsim Bakhshī seized the city; then expelled by the Ṣafawī party he returned with 2,000 men from Karkh and Bādghīs, and aided by the traitors Shihābu'd-Dīn Ghūrī and Nizāmu'd-Dīn <sup>4</sup> ‘Abdu'l-Qādir <sup>5</sup> Mashhadī <sup>6</sup> laid siege to the city. On the eighth day Piri Sulṭān, the Shāh's governor of Fūshanj, forced his way into Hirāt; Shihābu'd-Dīn Ghūrī and 300 of his comrades were overtaken and slain, but ‘Abu'l-Qāsim Bakhshī and Nizāmu'd-Dīn ‘Abdu'l-Qādir Mashhadī managed to escape to Gharjistān.

Meanwhile the Shāh had arrived at Ulang-i-Rādikān. The ex-governor of Marw, Dada Beg Ṭālish, who had fled before the Uzbeks, was paraded in the royal camp, clean-shaven, dressed in woman's clothes, and mounted on an ass <sup>7</sup>, with his face backwards <sup>8</sup>; later, on the same day, he received pardon and a robe of honour. As Hirāt had been re-occupied by Ṣafawī troops, it was necessary to appoint a governor: Zaynal Sulṭān Shāmlū was selected for this purpose, and was honoured with the title of “Khān”; similarly Amīr Beg Mawṣilū was appointed governor of Qāyīn with the title of “Sulṭān”.

After visiting the shrine at Mashhad, the Shāh moved to Bādghīs and then to Bābā-Khākī <sup>9</sup>. The punitive expedition of Jūha Sulṭān <sup>10</sup> wreaked vengeance on the nomads of Bādghīs, who had surprized the Qizil-Bāsh refugees from Ghujduwān, and for the murder of Khwāja Maḥmūd <sup>11</sup> at

<sup>1</sup> See p. 66, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 218b.

<sup>4</sup> App. 70-73.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73. Bf. 224a incorrectly gives “‘Abdu'l-Bāqī”.

<sup>6</sup> Bf. 224a.

<sup>7</sup> App. 73-74.

<sup>8</sup> Dp. 138.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 74.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74. Dp. 139 gives “Chūha Sulṭān”.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

Pil-Chirāgh<sup>1</sup>, in the beginning of Rajab, 919/Sept., 1513, at the hands of Adham, a nomad-chief of Kharzuwān, when the Khwāja was on his way from Balkh to the royal camp<sup>2</sup>; Diw Sultān Rūmlū and Amir Sultān Mawṣilū were ordered to reduce Shibarghān, Andkhuwd and Balkh. Shibarghān fell without resistance; Andkhuwd was taken after a six days' siege; its inhabitants were massacred, and its defender<sup>3</sup>, Qarā Baqqāl<sup>4</sup>, was placed in a pillory<sup>5</sup>, and sent captive to the Shāh; and Balkh, like Shibarghān, voluntarily capitulated. Acting on the royal instructions, Diw Sultān Rūmlū assumed the governorship of Balkh; and Amir Sultān Mawṣilū proceeded to the seat of his governorship at Qāyin.

There remained the reduction of Qandahār, which had been seized by Shujā' Beg after his escape from the fort of Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn in the summer of 917<sup>6</sup>/1511. The arrival of Shāh Rukh Beg Afshār made the rebel reiterate his apologies and renew his promise of regular payment of tribute, whereupon, the Safawī expedition returned to the royal camp<sup>7</sup>.

Having recovered Khurāsān, the Shāh struck camp for 'Irāq. A punitive expedition under Niẓāmu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Jāyān Sultān Ustājilū, despatched from Nishāpūr, failed to capture the rebel, Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā<sup>8</sup>, but slew most of the insurgents of Nisā<sup>9</sup> and Abīward<sup>10</sup>, and rejoined the camp at Isfahān<sup>11</sup>.

More formidable was the revolt of the Shāh's half-brother Sulaymān Mirzā. Taking advantage of the Shāh's preoccupations in Khurāsān, he left Ardabil and entered Tabriz at the head of a large following; but the inhabitants rained stones and darts from the housetops, and Sulaymān Mirzā, finding his triumphal entry converted into a funeral procession, was constrained to fly to Shunb-i-Ghāzān, where he was put to death by Muṣṭafā Beg Ustājilū. For this service, Muṣṭafā Beg Ustājilū, who was brother of the premier, Jāyān Sultān Ustājilū, received the governorship of Tabriz and the title of "Mantashā Sultān"<sup>12</sup>.

The Shāh spent the winter of 919/1513 at Isfahān, and on the advent of spring marched to Hamadān<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 74. Bf. 226b gives "Pul-i-Chirāgh".

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75. Khwāja Maḥmūd had fled from Ghujduwān to Balkh; thence to the camp of Bābur at Kishm; thence, towards the end of Jumāda II, 919/Aug., 1513, he had returned to Balkh, and was now on his way from Balkh to the royal camp.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75. Dp. 139 gives "Qarā Būqāl".

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 227b.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 75.

<sup>7</sup> Bff. 228a-228b. Ap. 75 states that on the approach of Shāh Rukh Beg Afshār, Shujā' Beg fled from Qandahār, and his uncle Sultān 'Alī took refuge in the city-fort. Shāh Rukh Beg Afshār followed Shujā' Beg to Mastūn, invaded the territory, and returned to the royal camp.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 76. He was the son of Abu'l-Muḥsin Mirzā and grandson of Sultān Ḥusayn Mirzā.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>10</sup> Bf. 234b.

<sup>11</sup> Ap. 76.

<sup>12</sup> Bff. 234b-235b.

<sup>13</sup> Ap. 77.

## CHAPTER VI

### *SHĀH ISMĀ'IL'S RELATIONS WITH TURKEY*

Shāh Ismā'il was contemporary with the following three Ottoman Sultāns: (1) Bāyazīd II (deposed 918/1512), (2) Salīm I (d. 916/1520), and (3) Sulaymān (d. 974/1566).

Sultān Bāyazīd II pursued a dual policy: indirect anti-Şafawī, as long as Shāh Ismā'il was weak; and direct pro-Şafawī, the moment Shāh Ismā'il became strong. In his answer to Ya'qūb Mirzā, of the Āq-Quyūnlū dynasty, announcing the defeat and death of Sultān Ḥaydar (father of Shāh Ismā'il, 893/1488), Bāyazīd II offers congratulations to the "Bāyandarī hosts" over the "Ḥaydarī faction"<sup>1</sup>. Similarly, in his letter to Alwand Mirzā, the Āq-Quyūnlū, sent by a special envoy, Maḥmūd Āqā Chāwūshbāshī, (before 907/1501), Bāyazīd II urges the Āq-Quyūnlū family to unite against their common enemy, "the Red-Heads". Further, in another letter to the same Alwand Mirzā, (before 907/1501), Bāyazīd II promises help against the "Qizil-Bāshes"<sup>2</sup>.

On the other hand, in his letter to Shāh Ismā'il, who had requested that his disciples in Asia Minor may not be prevented from visiting the shrines at Ardabil<sup>3</sup>, Bāyazīd II says that though the pseudo-pilgrims are merely trying to evade military service, nevertheless, for the sake of continuing friendly relations, he has issued instructions to permit the pilgrims to perform the pilgrimage conditional upon their return to Ottoman territory<sup>4</sup>. Similarly, in his answer to Shāh Ismā'il who offered apologies for passing through Qayşariyya<sup>5</sup>, because he was pursuing his foes, and did not intend any violation of Ottoman territory<sup>6</sup>, Bāyazīd II accepts the Shāh's assurances and hopes that friendly relations will continue with that "puissant monarch and august sovereign, the ruler of the countries of Persia, the prince of the lands of Turkey and Daylam, the Jamshīd of the age, the Kay-Khusraw of the epoch, the divinely aided, glorious king Ismā'il"<sup>7</sup>, and that he has ordered his officials "not to omit one jot or tittle in maintaining harmony and co-operation"<sup>8</sup>. In the same spirit, two different embassies, with messages of friendship, were sent by the Sultān to the Shāh, the one arriving at Isfahān, in the winter of 910/1504-5, to congratulate

<sup>1</sup> Np. 305.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 339.

<sup>4</sup> This passage through Qayşariyya is mentioned not in the Shāh's letter but in the Sultān's reply (Np. 340). (Also see p. 52, *supra*.)

<sup>5</sup> Np. 339.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340.

Shāh Ismā'il on his conquest of the Persian 'Irāq and Fārs<sup>1</sup>; the other arriving at Qum, in the winter of 917/1511-12, to congratulate Shāh Ismā'il on his victory over Shaybānī Khān<sup>2</sup>. This second embassy is particularly noteworthy because the Sultān had just been insulted by receiving the stuffed head of Shaybānī Khān, from the very man he was now congratulating.

On Ṣafar 7, 918/Apr. 24, 1512, Bāyazīd II was deposed and the vacant Ottoman throne was filled by the energetic Salīm<sup>3</sup>. Aḥmad, the eldest son of Bāyazīd II, disputed the succession, and lost his life<sup>4</sup>; whereupon, Murād, the son of Aḥmad, advanced his own claim, was routed in battle and constrained to fly towards Persia<sup>5</sup>.

Shāh Ismā'il was not slow to benefit from the internal troubles of Turkey. In the summer of 918/1512, he despatched Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū, governor of Arzinjān, to effect an emigration of his followers from Turkish territory. Accordingly, Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū collected 2,000 to 4,000 Qizil-Bāshes at Qibla Hīṣār, and was proceeding towards Malāṭīya, when he was surprised near Tūqāt by Fāyīq Pāshā, governor of Malāṭīya. The Ottomans were routed and the insertion of Shāh Ismā'il's name in the Kḥṭba attested the submission of Tūqāt<sup>6</sup>.

At Qār Jabrī, Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū received the fugitive prince Murād, but on returning with him to Tūqāt, the capricious town had revolted: it was taken by storm and put to ashes. Prince Murād went ahead to Persia and Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū was on the way to Arzinjān, when he was overtaken by 15,000 men despatched by Sultān Salīm under the command of Sinān Pāshā, Ḥusayn Beg and Tāju'd-Dīn Beg. Once again success attended the Persian arms; the destruction of Sinān Pāshā and 1,500 men precipitated the flight of the Turks; and Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū completed his journey to Arzinjān laden with spoils<sup>7</sup>.

Near Tabrīz, Prince Murād was received by Dīw Sultān Rūmlū and escorted to the presence of the Shāh in his summer-quarters at Pīshbārmāq<sup>8</sup>: there he was endowed with feudal estates in Fārs<sup>9</sup>, but he fell ill at Kāshān<sup>10</sup> en route to Fārs and, dying at Iṣfahān<sup>11</sup>, was buried outside the Tūqāji Gate near the tomb of Shaykh 'Alī Sahl Iṣfahānī<sup>12</sup>.

The seduction of his subjects, the infringement of his sovereignty, the defeat of his troops, and the protection of his rebellious nephew, were ranking in the mind of Sultān Salīm, when there came from Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū, the heroic governor of Diyār Bakr, an open challenge to arms. The Sultān was still meditating when there followed a second letter with a sword, a veil, and a complete suit of female apparel: "if thou art ready for

<sup>1</sup> See p. 50, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mf.* 57a.

<sup>3</sup> *Bff.* 238a-239a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 239a-240a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ap.* 70.

<sup>6</sup> *Ap.* 70.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 66, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 61a-63a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 237b-238a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 243a.

<sup>6</sup> *Bf.* 234b.

<sup>7</sup> *Bf.* 243b.

battle, bind the sword on thy waist and come; or else wear these clothes and bring not on thy tongue words of manliness, nor speak (evermore) of conquering lands”<sup>1</sup>.

The cup was now full to the brim, and, in the winter of 919/1513-14, when Sultān Salīm was at Adrianople<sup>2</sup>, he was unanimously advised by his generals and learned men of his empire to wage war against the Qizil-Bāshes<sup>3</sup>; whereupon, his first move was to eliminate some 40,000 of his Asiatic subjects, young and old, who were pro-Şafawī in their faith<sup>4</sup>; and the second was to weaken his adversary by conspiring with the enemies of his enemy, that is, the Uzbeks. In a long letter, dated the end of Muḥarram, 920/Mar., 1514, sent by the hand of Muḥammad Beg to the Uzbek ‘Ubayd(u’llāh) Khān, Salīm denounces that “Şūfī at whose hands the people of the Eastern lands are rendered desperate”<sup>5</sup>, and urges ‘Ubayd(u’llāh) Khān to avenge the death of his father<sup>6</sup>. This last statement, however, is an error, for it was the death of Shaybānī Khān, the uncle of ‘Ubaydu’llāh Khān, that had to be avenged.

(1) *Sultān Salīm’s March towards Ādharbāyyjān.*

Sultān Salīm left Adrianople, en route for Persia, on Saturday, Muḥarram 22, 920/Mar. 19, 1514, and must have travelled slowly, for he arrived in Constantinople on Şafar 2, 920/Mar. 29, 1514. It took him three weeks to mobilize his troops; and having appointed his son, Sulaymān, regent at Adrianople<sup>7</sup>, he left for Qarāmān on Tuesday, Şafar 23, 920/Apr. 19, 1514. A Persian spy, entrusted with the task of reporting on the strength and movements of the Ottoman army, had been arrested, and by his hands<sup>8</sup>, the Sultān sent to the Shāh, on Şafar 27, 920/Apr. 23, 1514, his first ultimatum<sup>9</sup>—a reflection at once of his character and of the spirit of his times<sup>10</sup>:

“This address is from us, the repository<sup>11</sup> of glory, the slayer of infidels and polytheists, the destroyer of the enemies of religion, the annihilator of the grandeur of the Pharaohs<sup>12</sup>, the spoliator of the crowns of the Khāqāns,

<sup>1</sup> Bf. 244b.

<sup>2</sup> Mf. 68b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 66a-66b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 68b-70b.

<sup>5</sup> Np. 347.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.

<sup>7</sup> Mf. 73b.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 68b-69b.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 72b.

<sup>10</sup> For the Persian Text see Npp. 351-353.

<sup>11</sup> Mf. 71a “جلالت مآب”. Np. 351 gives “خلافت مآب” and, therefore, Sp. 13 translates it as “the Refuge of the Caliphate”. This, however, is incorrect, because Sultān Salīm assumed the title of Caliph after the conquest of Egypt in 923/1517 (Wp. 150).

<sup>12</sup> In translating this phrase as “the humbler of the Pharaoh’s pride” S adds the following footnote (note 1, p. 14): “Literally, ‘he who rubs on the dust the noses of the Pharaohs’, alluding to Sultān Salīm’s conquest of Egypt and overthrow of the Mameluke dynasty”. The latter statement contains anachronism, for the Sultān wrote this letter in Şafar, 920/Apr., 1514, while he conquered Egypt in 923/1517 (Wpp. 142-146).



the Sultān of religious warriors and volunteers; Faridūn in glory, Alexander in pomp, Kay-Khusraw in justice and equity, Dārā in noble descent, Sultān Salīm Khān ibn Sultān Bāyazīd Khān ibn Sultān Muḥammad Khān ibn Sultān Murād Khān: to thee, the ruler of Persia, the supreme commander and war-lord, the Daḥḥāk of times, the Dārāb of strife, the Afrāsīyāb of the age, whose name <sup>1</sup> is Amīr Ismā'il.....

"The purport of this introduction is to signify that according to the dictum:

When the male-lion departs from the thicket,  
The jackal enters therein with a piercing howl,

thou hast violently usurped the eastern lands benefiting by the distractions of the Bāyandari hosts; and from the ignominious rank of a servant thou hast raised thyself to the glorious status of a master <sup>2</sup>; ..... accordingly, for the relief of sufferers, the redress of the down-trodden, the execution of divine commandments, and the maintenance of royal honour, we donned the casque and the mail instead of silk and brocade: and by the favour and grace of God, we crossed the Sea during the month of Ṣafar....., (920/Apr., 1514), with 'laurel victory sitting on our sword and smooth success strewn before our feet', escorted by lion-mettled swordsmen and warriors: when they draw their swords from the sheath of rancour the life of the miserable foe is terminated in its ascendant: and when they insert the arrow in the bow of enmity the death-sign of the victim is cast in the Sign of the Sagittarius. By the favour of God, the High and Glorious, we hope to crush the arm of thy oppression with the grip of our power: to banish from thy silly head the idle thought of sovereignty; to avenge the meek and the lowly whom thou hast oppressed, and to set thy house on fire with the embers of thy own incendiarism" <sup>3</sup>. Finally, Sultān Salīm asks Shāh Ismā'il to return all the lands which formerly belonged to the Ottomans or to prepare for war <sup>4</sup>.

It will be recalled that the Sultān had incited the Uzbeks to attack Shāh Ismā'il. He now wrote in a similar strain to Muḥammad Beg the Āq-Quyūnlū—the letter was sent by an envoy, Aḥmad Jān, and is dated the end of Ṣafar, 920/Apr., 1514—inviting his co-operation against the Red-Heads <sup>5</sup>.

On Rabi' I, 7, 920/May 2, 1514, the Sultān reached Sayyid-i-Ghāzī <sup>6</sup>, where the army was propitiated by the donation per man of a thousand 'Uthmānī. Thereupon, a vanguard of 2,000 men was despatched to Sīwās under Aḥmad Pāshā. The Sultān himself reached Qūniya (Iconium) on

<sup>1</sup> Sp. 114 incorrectly translates "نامداری" as "the famous".

<sup>2</sup> Mf. 72a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 72a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 72a. Wpp. 133-136 gives a very free translation of the whole letter with numerous additions and subtractions.

<sup>5</sup> Np. 353.

<sup>6</sup> Mf. 72b gives "Sayyidighāzī".

Rabī' I, 9, 920/May 4, 1514, and Askinja-Khānī on Jumāda I, 3, 920/June 26, 1514. The purse-strings were again relaxed: every soldier of Rumelia and Anatolia received fifty per cent increment in salary plus an immediate gift of a thousand Āqcha 'Uthmānī. Aḥmad Beg Qarāja Pāshā preceded the Sultān at the head of 500 men, and, on Jumāda I, 8, 920/July 1, 1514, the Sultān reached Siwās <sup>1</sup>.

At Siwās, the Sultān reviewed his forces. Separating the grain from the chaff, he retained 100,000 men and disbanded 40,000, whom youth and senility had rendered unfit for battle. A train of 60,000 camels carried provisions for the army <sup>2</sup>; the commissariat department was in charge of 5,000 men; Sinān Pāshā, governor-general of Anatolia, commanded the right wing, and Ḥasan Pāshā, governor-general of Rumelia, the left wing, each of 40,000 men <sup>3</sup>; and the Sultān was in the centre with 20,000 Janissaries in front <sup>4</sup>.

The Ottomans now marched to Arzinjān <sup>5</sup>, and on the report of their advance, Muḥammad Khān Ustājlu, governor of Diyār Bakr, stripped the province bare of all inhabitants, banishing them to Ādharbāyjan; and as he retreated stage by stage, he burnt out all the fields and meadows, so that the absence of food and fodder may incapacitate the Ottomans from molesting the Qizil-Bāshes <sup>6</sup>.

These tactics began to corrupt the morale of the Ottomans: murmurs arose at the pursuit of an invisible foe through a devastated <sup>7</sup> land. The Sultān pretended ignorance of the discontent in the army, but wrote a letter in Turkish to rouse the dormant ardour of Shāh Ismā'il: he had previously called on the Shāh to repent and become his vassal <sup>8</sup>, he now—end of Jumāda I, 920/July, 1514—taunted him with unwillingness to try the fortune of battle <sup>9</sup>.

This fresh challenge to arms was, however, unnecessary, for, on Jumāda I, 27, 920 <sup>10</sup>/July 20, 1514, Sultān Salīm received at Āq-Dih near Kamākh <sup>11</sup>, the following reply from Shāh Ismā'il <sup>12</sup>:

"We derived much pleasure from a perusal of your letter which indicated enmity but breathed valour and fortitude; we do not know, however, your object and motive.

"In the reign of your father, whose abode is in paradise, may God illuminate his proofs, the impertinence of 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr compelled us to pass through Turkish territory; nevertheless, friendship and harmony continued to subsist on both sides, so much so, that we (even)

<sup>1</sup> Mf. 72b. •

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 74b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 78a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 75a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 75b.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 80b.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 75b.

<sup>8</sup> Second letter of Sultān Salīm, in Persian, to Shāh Ismā'il, undated (Np. 355).

<sup>9</sup> Third letter of Sultān Salīm, in Turkish, to Shāh Ismā'il (Mff. 76b-77a).

<sup>10</sup> Mf. 77a.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 77a.

<sup>12</sup> For Persian text see Npp. 356-357.

expressed our regard for you when you were (merely) governor of Trebizond. We are unaware, therefore, of the cause of your present resentment, but no doubt it is the pride of sovereignty that brings you hither, and:

Verily words bring the quarrel to such a pitch  
That households of long standing crumble to pieces.

"Hitherto, our reasons for neglecting (the conquest of) Turkey have been twofold: firstly, most of the Turkish nationals are (already our subjects, being) the disciples of our illustrious ancestors, may God the Forgiver pardon them all; secondly, from ancient times we have been friends with that war-like family, and we neither desired then nor do we now desire that chaos should visit that land, as it did in the reign of Tīmūr<sup>1</sup>. These trifles do not upset us, and why should we be worried?—for the enmity of kings is traditional:

'He that would clasp to his breast, Royalty, as his bride,  
Must woo her in the battle-fray, athwart sharp scymetars.'

But there is no justification for improper language."<sup>2</sup>

The Sultān put the messenger to death<sup>3</sup>. Meanwhile, the army continued to grumble at the interminable march through a devastated region; the audacious governor of Qarāmān, Hamdam Pāshā, suggested retreat and forfeited his life<sup>4</sup>, Jumāda II, 1, 920/July, 24, 1514; Zaynal Pāshā was appointed the new governor<sup>5</sup>; and the army was ordered to resume the march. "The Janissaries", writes Creasy, "broke out into open tumult, and boldly demanded to be led back to their homes. Selim had pretended not to observe their murmurs on former occasions during the march, but he now rode boldly into the midst of them. 'Is this' he cried, 'your service to your Sultān? Does your loyalty consist of mere boast and lip-worship? Let those among you who wish to go home, stand out from the ranks, and depart. As for me, I have not advanced thus far merely to double on my track. Let the cowards instantly stand aloof from the brave, who have devoted themselves with sword and quiver, soul and hand, to our enterprise'. He ended by quoting a passage from a Persian poem:

'I never flinch or turn back from the purpose  
Which once have gained dominion o'er my soul.'

He then gave the word of command to form column and march, and not a Janissary dared leave his banner."<sup>6</sup>

On Jumāda II, 16, 920/Aug. 8, 1514, Amīr Aḥmad, the Persian governor of Tarjān, who had fallen into the hands of the Turkmān chief, Farḡshād

<sup>1</sup> He refers to the battle of Angora between Bāyazīd I and Tīmūr (Dhu'l-H. 19, 804/July 20, 1402) resulting in the collapse of the Ottoman troops, and followed by tumult and civil war in Turkey.

<sup>2</sup> Npp. 356-357.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 77b.

<sup>4</sup> Mf. 77a.

<sup>5</sup> Wpp. 137-138.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 75b-76a.

Beg, was brought to camp and put to death; two days later, the Sultān reached Askī-Dih, and despatched Muṣṭafā Beg and Muḥammad Beg to reduce Bāyburd. At the village of Sūykan, the envoy of Mirzā Chābuk re-confirmed the allegiance of the Prince of Georgia; the garrison of Bāyazid tendered fealty<sup>1</sup>; the Sultān despatched another letter challenging Shāh Ismā'il to battle (end of Jumāda II, 920<sup>2</sup>); and received the welcome gift of a number of Qizil-Bāsh heads sent by 'Alī Beg ibn Shāh Suwār Beg Dhu'l-Qadr<sup>3</sup>. But even more welcome was the news sent by this general, that on receipt of the Sultān's letter at Hamadān<sup>4</sup>, the Shah had mobilized his troops<sup>5</sup>, and now pitched camp near Khūy<sup>6</sup>.

## (2) *The Battle of Chāldirān.*

"And they are surely be esteemed the bravest spirits, who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger." (Pericles.)

The two most desperate battles that the Ottomans ever fought in Asia are Angora and Chāldirān: the former, Bāyazid I, "the Thunderbolt", lost against Timūr (July 20, 1402); the later, Salīm I, "the Grim", won against Shāh Ismā'il (Aug. 23, 1514). "Such extraordinary efforts of power and courage will always command the attention of posterity: but the events, by which the fate of nations is not materially changed, leave a faint impression on the page of history." Angora retarded, though it did not arrest, the progress of the Ottomans; Chāldirān, similarly, apart from the Turkish occupation of Tabriz, lasting eight days, and the loss of personal confidence on the part of Shāh Ismā'il, who never again led a military expedition, produced only one permanent result, namely, the loss of the Persian province of Diyār Bakr.

Chāldirān is a plain about 80 miles towards the north-west of Tabriz<sup>7</sup>. Of the combatants, Shāh Ismā'il was the first to arrive<sup>8</sup>, and by indulging in a quail-shoot demonstrated his unruffled temper<sup>9</sup>; then followed Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū and Nūr 'Alī Khalifa Rūmlū, the governors of Diyār Bakr and Arzinjān respectively<sup>10</sup>, increasing the Shāh's army to 40,000<sup>11</sup>; finally, on Tuesday, Rajab 1, 920<sup>12</sup>/Aug. 22, 1514, Sultān Salīm

<sup>1</sup> Mf. 77b.

<sup>2</sup> Sp. 75. But the equation end of Jumāda II, 920=Aug. 21, 1514 given by E. G. Browne is incorrect for the battle of Chāldirān itself was fought on Aug. 23, 1514.

<sup>3</sup> Mf. 81a.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Np. 357. App. 77-78 incorrectly denies the mobilization of Persian troops and says that the Shāh brought into the field only 12,000 men who happened to be with him. Up. 245 incorrectly states that envoys were sent by Shāh Ismā'il to seek aid from Egypt and Hungary.

<sup>6</sup> Mf. 81a.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 38. Up. 270 incorrectly gives "Khui" as the place of the battle.

<sup>8</sup> Mf. 83b.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 247b.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 246b.

<sup>11</sup> Mf. 84a.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 83b.

appeared on the scene with his 100,000 fighting troops inclusive of artillery. There can be no doubt that the Turks were in an overwhelming majority, for these numbers are given by the Turkish eye-witness, Ḥakīmu'd-Dīn Idris Bitlisī; according to Persian sources the disparity was even greater, 12,000 <sup>1</sup> or 20,000 <sup>2</sup> Persians against 120,000 <sup>3</sup> or even 212,000 <sup>4</sup> Ottomans.

In the Persian council of war, Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū agreed with the suggestion of Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū, that an immediate attack should be made upon the Ottomans, before they could bring up their field-guns and fastening them with strong chains make the Ottoman front impregnable and unassailable; but Dürmiş Khān Shāmlū wanted the enemy's arrangements to be completed, so that the Persians may have a chance of displaying their bravery and military ardour in full view on the field of battle, and the intrepid Shāh readily assented to this proposal <sup>5</sup>.

The disposition of the Ṣafawī army was as follows: Shāh Ismā'il commanded the reserves <sup>6</sup>; Nizāmu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Bāqī <sup>7</sup> (counsellor <sup>8</sup>), Sharīfu'd-Dīn 'Alī <sup>9</sup> (chancellor <sup>10</sup>), and Muḥammad Kamūna <sup>11</sup> (shrine-keeper of Najaf <sup>12</sup>) were in the centre <sup>13</sup>; Dürmiş Khān Shāmlū <sup>14</sup> (master of ceremonies <sup>15</sup>) commanded the right wing <sup>16</sup>; Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū <sup>17</sup> (governor of Diyār Bakr <sup>18</sup> and brother-in-law of the Shāh <sup>19</sup>) commanded the left wing <sup>20</sup>; Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū <sup>21</sup> (governor of Arzinjān <sup>22</sup>), Mantashā Sulṭān <sup>23</sup> (governor of Tabriz <sup>24</sup>), Khalīl Sulṭān Dhu'l-Qadr (governor of Fārs <sup>25</sup>), Ḥusayn Beg Lala <sup>26</sup> (ex-counsellor <sup>27</sup>), Khulfā Beg <sup>28</sup>, Pīrā Beg Chāwūshlū <sup>29</sup> and Sulṭān 'Alī Mīrza <sup>30</sup> Afshar <sup>31</sup> were appointed on the right and left wings <sup>32</sup>, while Sārū Pīrā (commander of the horse-guards <sup>33</sup>) and Yūsuf Beg Warsāq <sup>34</sup> (governor of Kamākḥ <sup>35</sup>) were in charge of the skirmishing party. The absence of Diw Sulṭān Rūmlū (governor of Balkh <sup>36</sup>), Zaynal Khān Shāmlū (governor of Hirāt <sup>37</sup>), and Amīr Sulṭān Maḥṣilū (governor of Qāyin <sup>38</sup>) obviously indicates the precautionary measures of

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Fp. 31. Up. 245 gives "60,000".

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 247a.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. 78.

<sup>5</sup> Bff. 246b-247a.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 78. Fp. 31 and Mf. 88b incorrectly state that he commanded the centre. Up. 245 and Wp. 138 incorrectly state that he himself led one of the wings.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>12</sup> Bf. 144a.

<sup>13</sup> Ap. 78.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>15</sup> Bf. 112b.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 249b. Ap. 78 incorrectly states that he commanded the left wing.

<sup>17</sup> Ap. 78.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>19</sup> Bf. 130a. (Also see footnote 3, p. 53, supra.)

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 249b. Ap. 78 incorrectly states that he commanded the right wing.

Fp. 31 incorrectly states that he was the leader of the skirmishing party.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 247a.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 237b.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 247a.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 235b.

<sup>25</sup> App. 80-81.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>29</sup> Bf. 247a.

<sup>30</sup> Ap. 78.

<sup>31</sup> Bf. 247a.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 247a.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 247a.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 247a.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 257a.

<sup>36</sup> Ap. 75.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

the Shāh for defending his north-eastern frontier against the Uzbeks; but the inclusion of the name of Khādim Beg Khalifa in the Persian casualty list shows that the governor of the Arabian 'Irāq<sup>1</sup> also participated in the battle of Chāldirān.

As anticipated by Muḥammad Khān Ustājlı, the centre of the Turkish van consisted of field-guns, 300 in number<sup>2</sup>, chained together<sup>3</sup>, and supported by a line of chained camels and mules<sup>4</sup>. Behind the cover of artillery, Sultān Salīm, with his ministers, Aḥmad Pāshā Harsak, Aḥmad Pāshā Dūqa-Kin and Muṣṭafā Pāshā, commanded the body-guard of Janisaries<sup>5</sup>, whose total number inclusive of gunners, as admitted by the Turkish authority, was 20,000<sup>6</sup> or according to the incorrect Persian version 12,000<sup>7</sup>; Sinān Pāshā (governor-general of Anatolia) and Ḥasan Pāshā (governor-general of Rumelia) led the right and left wings of 40,000 Asiatic and 40,000 European troops respectively; while 'Alī Beg ibn Shāh Suwār Beg Dhu'l-Qadr<sup>8</sup>, Atak Beg alias Ālqūj Ūghlī, and curiously the admiral Majāl Ūghlī<sup>9</sup> were to deliver the Ottoman attack. As the total strength of the army was a hundred thousand men, it is obvious that the squadrons of 'Alī Beg, Atak Beg and Majāl Ūghlī must have been drawn from the forces of Sinān Pāshā and Ḥasan Pāshā. The names of Farhād Pāshā and Qarāja Pāshā are 'given amongst the list of Ottoman commanders<sup>10</sup>, but their position in battle is not indicated.

On the morning of Wednesday, Rajab 2, 920<sup>11</sup>/Aug. 23, 1514, Sārū Pīra, commander of the Persian horse-guards, opened the battle of Chāldirān with a wild cavalry charge<sup>12</sup>; the Turkish advance-guards suffered enormous casualties<sup>13</sup>, but eventually Majāl Ūghlī repulsed the attack<sup>14</sup>. Thereupon, Shāh Ismā'il poured his reserves upon the left wing of the Ottomans, and in personal combat slew Atak Beg alias Ālqūj Ūghlī, whom he cut through to the waist with his sword<sup>15</sup>: altogether fourteen Turkish commanders including Uways Beg (Warden of Alāja Ḥiṣār<sup>16</sup>) and Sulaymān Beg (Warden of Parazdīn) were slain in the first charge of the Shāh<sup>17</sup>. In a frantic effort to retrieve the disaster, Ḥasan Pāshā (governor-general of Rumleia) lost his life; the Ottoman left wing tottered, and the Sultān had to rush reinforcements<sup>18</sup>. More successful was Sinān Pāshā, commander of the Turkish right wing, who repulsed the Persians and put Khādim Beg Khalifa, governor of the Arabian 'Irāq, to death<sup>19</sup>. The Turkish artillery, which had hitherto been silent, opened fire<sup>20</sup>. When the smoke cleared, Muḥammad

<sup>1</sup> Mf. 91b.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 88b.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Mf. 87a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 83b.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 75a.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 78.

<sup>8</sup> Mf. 83b.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 247a. •

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 247a.

<sup>11</sup> Mf. 83a.

<sup>12</sup> Bf. 248a.

<sup>13</sup> Mf. 84b-85a. It is difficult to credit the Turkish authority that the advance-guards were decimated.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 86b.

<sup>15</sup> Ap. 79.

<sup>16</sup> Mf. 85a. Sp. 76 calls him "governor of Cæsarea".

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 85a.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 86a.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 89b.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 86b.

Khān Ustājilū, Nizāmu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, Sayyid Sharifu'd-Dīn 'Alī and Sayyid Muḥammad Kamūna had fallen <sup>1</sup>. The artillery continued its deadly fire, but more venomous was the blood of the Shāh at the sight of his fallen comrades: he led another furious charge, as it were into the jaws of death, and had to sacrifice another batch of comrades, like Sārū Pīra, Ḥusayn Beg Lala, Khulfā Beg, Yūsuf Beg Warsāq and Pīra Beg <sup>2</sup>. Thereupon, Khalīl Sulṭān Dhu'l-Qadr (governor of Fārs) added disobedience to cowardice, and withdrew, or fled, from the field of battle <sup>3</sup>; but the Shāh remained unmoved by defection, and opposing the liquid flame of his blood to the fire of the Turkish guns, made a third charge, right on the Ottoman artillery, cut his way through the chained guns <sup>4</sup>, and was only stopped from reaching the Ottoman centre by the lines of chained camels and mules. Wounded on his hand and arm, Shāh Ismā'il rolled to the ground on his horse; a Turkish soldier pressed forward to secure the head; but Sulṭān 'Alī Mirzā Afshār, who bore a close resemblance to the Shāh in dress and appearance, cried aloud, "I am the Shāh of Persia", whereupon, the assailant turned aside, just enabling Shāh Ismā'il to effect his escape on a horse, which had been quickly procured by his devoted servants <sup>5</sup>. Later, the hero Sulṭān 'Alī Mirzā Afshār was taken to Sulṭān Salīm's camp where death and immortality awaited him <sup>6</sup>.

By now the sun had set <sup>7</sup>, and with it the sun of Shāh Ismā'il's fortune. With 300 men he fled to Tabriz <sup>8</sup> and thence to Darguzīn <sup>9</sup> in 'Irāq; his wives were captured <sup>10</sup> but were released the next day in the general amnesty that the Sulṭān granted to women <sup>11</sup>, children, learned men and artisans <sup>12</sup>. Neither the Turkish nor the Persian casualties are known: according to Brijan <sup>13</sup>, they amounted to 3,000 Ottomans and 2,000 Persians respectively <sup>14</sup>. These numbers, considering the duration of the battle from sunrise to sunset, and the valour, hatred, religious zeal, and the numbers of the combatants—140,000 according to the lowest computation—must obviously be rejected. It would be idle conjecture, therefore, to determine how many Persians were killed, how many fled, and how many were put to death after capture: only two facts are well-established, firstly, that the Sulṭān suspecting an ambush forbade the pursuit of the Ṣafawī army <sup>15</sup>; secondly, that the military prisoners, whether officers or soldiers, were put to the sword <sup>16</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bf. 250a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 250b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 251a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 251a.

<sup>5</sup> Mff. 87a-87b.

<sup>6</sup> Bf. 255a.

<sup>7</sup> Mf. 87b.

<sup>8</sup> Bff. 252a-253a.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 79.

<sup>10</sup> Mf. 90a.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 91a. Sp. 76 gives that the Sulṭān handed over to Ja'far-Bey one of Shāh Ismā'il's wives.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 91a. Vp. 246 incorrectly states that all male prisoners were put to the sword.

<sup>13</sup> B.M.MS., Or. 3248.

<sup>14</sup> Bf. 253a.

<sup>15</sup> Mf. 88a.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 91a.

"If the sword be 'alif' then the blood-drops would be zeros; such were the numbers of the slain<sup>1</sup>," says the *Salīm Nāma*.

Sultān Salīm celebrated the victory, which he had purchased by the lives of Ḥasan Pāshā (governor-general of Rumelia<sup>2</sup>), Hasan Beg (governor of Morea<sup>3</sup>), Uways Beg (warden of Alāja Hişār), Sulaymān Beg (warden of Parazdīn<sup>4</sup>), Ayās Beg of Latakia<sup>5</sup>, Atak Beg and other high officials<sup>6</sup>, by erecting a pyramid of his enemies' skulls on the field of battle<sup>7</sup>; and by sending proclamations of victory to his son, Sulaymān, to the Khān of Crimea, to the Kurdish chieftains, to Sultān Murād, the Āq-Quyūnlū, to Malik Shāh Rustam of Lūristān, and others. The texts of these "Fath-Nāmas" are given in the compendium of Faridūn Bey.

All the relevant facts about Chāldirān have now been given. Equal in religious zeal, personal bravery and martial discipline, Shāh Ismā'il was inferior to Sultān Salīm in the numbers of his troops (40,000 against 100,000) and in the total absence of artillery. Had the advice of Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū been followed and the battle of Chāldirān fought on the first of Rajab when the Ottoman army, worn by travel and disarranged, had just arrived, the Persians might have secured a victory. But the Persians, anxious to display their bravery, did not desire to steal a victory, and the extra day, with the formidable 300 Turkish guns, proved fatal. Nevertheless, at a time when the Ottomans were a terror to Europe, Shāh Ismā'il sustained the full weight of the military power of the Ottomans, and within two weeks, upon the retreat of the conquering army, the vanquished Shāh had advanced and re-occupied his capital.

### (3) *Occupation and Evacuation of Tabriz by Sultān Salīm.*

From Chāldirān Sultān Salīm marched towards Tabriz<sup>8</sup> by way of Khūy, whence he despatched Aḥmad Pāshā Dūqa-Kīn, Parī Chalapī and Ḥakīmū'd-Dīn Idrīs Bitlisī, with 400 Janissaries, to occupy Tabriz<sup>9</sup>, which submitted without resistance. Sultān Salīm made his triumphal entry into Tabriz (on Rajab 15, 920<sup>10</sup>/Sept. 5, 1514), but, contrary to expectation, he did not pollute his triumph by a general pillage of the city or the massacre of its inhabitants<sup>11</sup>; and the Khuṭba read in the Sultān's name showed that the Ottoman flag had displaced the Ṣafawī<sup>12</sup>. The fugitive Badi'ū'z-Zamān Mirzā was granted an interview<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mf. 91b.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 80, supra.

<sup>3</sup> Sp. 76.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 80, supra.

<sup>5</sup> Sp. 76.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 80, supra.

<sup>7</sup> Sp. 76.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 79.

<sup>9</sup> Mf. 93b.

<sup>10</sup> For he started on his return march on Rajab 23, 920/Sept. 13, 1514, eight days after his entry into Tabriz (Mff. 94b-95a).

<sup>11</sup> Bf. 253a. P, Vol. II, p. 153 and Up. 246 incorrectly state that the Sultān sacked the city.

<sup>12</sup> Mf. 94a.

<sup>13</sup> Bf. 253b. K, Vol. II, p. 41, footnote 6 incorrectly states that Badi'ū'z-Zamān Mirzā was taken prisoner by Sultān Salīm when the latter captured Tabriz in 920/1514.



The war council and cabinet rejected the proposal of the Sultān to spend the winter of 920/1514-15 at Tabriz; accordingly, eight days after his entry into the Ṣafawī capital, the Sultān started on his return march, on Rajab 23, 920<sup>1</sup>/Sept. 13, 1514, and took with him Badī'ū'z-Zamān Mirzā<sup>2</sup>, and a few families of leading men, skilled artisans and experienced craftsmen<sup>3</sup>.

A fortnight after its evacuation, Tabriz was re-occupied by the Shāh, who appointed Shāh Ḥusayn Isfahānī and Jamālud-Dīn Muḥammad<sup>4</sup> Astarābādī<sup>5</sup> his counsellor and chancellor respectively. Qarā Beg, brother of Muḥammad Khān Ustājilū, was appointed governor of Diyār Bakr, with the title of "Khān", and received in marriage his brother's widow, the sister of the Shāh. Nūr 'Alī Khalifa Rūmlū and Ācha Sultān Qājār were despatched to their respective governments<sup>6</sup>. Gūr Sulaymān was sent to Shīrāz, and, by Shāh's orders, put Khalīl Sultān Dhu'l-Qadr, governor of Fārs, and a fugitive from Chāldirān, to death. 'Alī Beg Dhu'l-Qadr was appointed the new governor of Fārs with the title of "Khān"<sup>7</sup>.

To return to Sultān Salīm. He passed through Nakhjuwān and Ayriwān, and reached Amāsiya on Shawwāl 5, 920<sup>8</sup>/Nov. 23, 1514, but thousands of his horses and transport camels fell victims to the severity of cold and the scarcity of fodder<sup>9</sup>. Nūru'd-Dīn<sup>10</sup> 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb brought an apologetic letter with suitable presents from Shāh Ismā'il, to which Sultān Salīm replied by imprisoning the envoy and his companions, Qāḍī 'Isā and Shukru'llāh Mughānī, in the fort of Yaki-Hiṣār<sup>11</sup>. Another letter from the Shāh, brought by Kamālu'd-Dīn Beg and Bayrām Āghā, with messages of friendship, also remained unanswered<sup>12</sup>.

After spending the winter of 920/1514-15 at Amāsiya, the Sultān marched on Kamākh, where he arrived on Rabi' II, 5, 921<sup>13</sup>/May 20, 1515. Muḥammad Beg, the Persian governor, refused submission<sup>14</sup>, the fort was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword. Aḥmad Pāshā Qarāychīn Ūghlī was appointed the Turkish governor<sup>15</sup>; and the Sultān marched towards Mar'ash, to punish 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr<sup>16</sup>, whose men had

<sup>1</sup> Mff. 94b-95a. All Persian authorities ridiculously state that Sultān Salīm left Tabriz for fear of the expected attack of Shāh Ismā'il on Tabriz with a newly mobilized army from 'Irāq. Actually, Shāh Ismā'il did not move from Darguzīn until he received the news of the Sultān's departure from Tabriz.

<sup>2</sup> Jp. 368. He died of plague four months after his arrival at Constantinople (Jp. 368). K, Vol. II, p. 41, footnote 6, incorrectly states that he died in 923/1517.

<sup>3</sup> Mf. 95b.

<sup>4</sup> App. 79-80.

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 255a. Bf. 254b incorrectly states that Jāyān Sultān Ustājilū was appointed prime-minister. Actually, he had been appointed to this post in the winter of 916/1509-10 (see p. 57, supra).

<sup>6</sup> Bp. 255a.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. 81.

<sup>8</sup> Mf. 95a.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., f. 97a.

<sup>10</sup> Np. 365.

<sup>11</sup> Mff. 98b-99a.

<sup>12</sup> Npp. 364-366.

<sup>13</sup> Mff. 102a-102b.

<sup>14</sup> Bf. 257a-257b.

<sup>15</sup> Mf. 104a.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., f. 110b.

butchered the guards and taken the provisions collected by the Sultān for another expedition to Persia <sup>1</sup>.

Sinān Pāshā (governor-general of Anatolia) preceded the Sultān with 10,000 <sup>2</sup> horse, and slew 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr in a fierce battle. His head was sent to the Sultān as a trophy along with the prisoners of war who included the relatives of 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr and his brother 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Beg. The Janissaries received each a 1,000 Āqcha 'Uthmāni as their share of the vast booty that was taken; and Sultān Qānsū Ghūrī of Egypt was presented with the stuffed head of 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr <sup>3</sup>. After appointing 'Ali Beg ibn Shāh Suwār Beg Dhu'l-Qadr governor of Mar'ash, the Sultān proceeded to Constantinople <sup>4</sup>. Meanwhile, Muṣṭafā Pāshā, governor of Trebizond, had attacked Arzinjān with 10,000 men. Nūr 'Ali Khalifa Rūmlū, the Persian governor of the town, lost his life in a bloody battle, and Arzinjān was added to Ottoman territory <sup>5</sup>.

(4) *Capture of Diyār Bakr by the Ottomans.*

As mentioned above, Qarā Khān was appointed the Persian governor of Diyār Bakr <sup>6</sup>, but the Kurdish chiefs were in open revolt, and through the effort of Ḥakimu'd-Dīn Idrīs Bitlisī, had transferred their allegiance to Sultān Salīm, who had sent them a "Fath-Nāma" from Chāldīrān.

In the winter of 920/1514-15 Qarā Khān advanced on the fort of Qarā Hamīd with 5,000 men. The inhabitants refused submission and sought help from Sultān Salīm, who despatched a strong detachment under Yakad Aḥmad, whereupon, Qarā Khān retired, and Yakad Aḥmad occupied the fort. Shāh Ismā'il's reinforcements brought by Kurd Beg were defeated by the Kurdish chiefs <sup>7</sup>; but apprehensive of another Ṣafawī attack, the Kurdish chiefs re-solicited the help of the Sultān. Accordingly, Muṣṭafā Pāshā, governor of Trebizond, was despatched with 10,000 men; Shādī Pāshā, governor of Amāsiya and Siwās, brought a further reinforcement of 5,000 men. The Qizil-Bāshes now retired, and Mārdīn was occupied by the Ottomans. But the Turkish generals Shādī Pāshā and Muṣṭafā Pāshā fell out; the former retired to the seat of his government, and the latter to the fort of Qarā Hamīd; while Mārdīn was reoccupied by the Qizil-Bāshes <sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bff. 261a-261b.

<sup>2</sup> Mf. 110b. Bf. 261b exaggerates the number to "40,000".

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 110b-111b. 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr was the ruler of Mar'ash, Albistān and their dependencies, consisting of 80,000 houses. Four persons of this family, namely: (1) Malīk Arslān, (2) Sulaymān, (3) Nāṣīru'd-Dīn, and (4) 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr have ruled. The last of these had acquired great power by deceitfully extracting wealth from the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd II and from Sultān (Qānsū Ghūrī) of Egypt. (Bff. 139a-139b). Sp. 77 incorrectly states that 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr was killed at Kamākh near Arzinjān. Actually, he was defeated and killed near Mar'ash, the seat of his government.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 111b.

<sup>5</sup> Bff. 259a-260b.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 83, *supra*.

<sup>7</sup> Mff. 112a-114b.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 117b-120a.

These recent developments were reported to the Sultān by Ḥakimu'd-Dīn Idrīs Bitlīsī, whereupon, Khusraw Pāshā, governor of Qarāmān, Aḥmad Pāshā Qarāychīn Ūghlī, governor of Kamākh, Sinān Āghā and Bālī Āghā, with 20,000 horse and 1,000 (sic) guns, took the field for the reduction of Diyār Bakr. Meanwhile Qarā Khān had also been reinforced at Mārdīn, in particular with 600 royal horse-guards; but even so he was unable to retain Mārdīn, and moved to Karkh<sup>1</sup>. Here he routed 2,000<sup>2</sup> horse despatched by Muṣṭafā Pāshā, the Ottoman commander, and slew every one of them in pursuit.

To avenge the loss, Muṣṭafā Pāshā left the fort of Qarā Ḥamīd and took field in person; the Qizil-Bāshes retreated, but were overtaken near Qawj Ḥiṣār. A severe battle ensued in which Qarā Khān lost his life along with most of his soldiers, and the survivors fled towards Mawṣil<sup>3</sup>. This decisive victory was followed by an immediate reduction of a number of forts held by the Qizil-Bāshes<sup>4</sup>, and eventually, the whole of the province of Diyār Bakr was annexed by the Ottomans<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Mff. 120a-122b.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 122b. Bf. 265a gives "5,000".

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 122b-124b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 124b-126a.

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 267b.

## CHAPTER VII

### *SHĀH ISMĀ'IL'S LIFE FROM CHĀLDIRĀN TILL HIS DEATH*

From the time of the battle of Chāldirān till his death, which occurred on Monday, Rajab 19, 930 <sup>1</sup>/May 23, 1524, Shāh Ismā'il remained inactive. The rebellions arose in various provinces, were suppressed, not by him, but by his generals. The Ottomans captured the whole of Diyār Bakr, Bābur the towns of Balkh and Qandahār, and 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān Uzbek invaded Khurāsān, but the Shāh never led his forces in person: he had transferred his activity to the hunting-field or else shown in his wine-parties the passivity of an ease-loving monarch.

#### (1) *Minor Events.*

During 920/1514, Shāh Ismā'il spent the winter at Tabriz, the spring at Ardabil, and the summer at Sihand <sup>2</sup>, where he received the head of Sultān Murād, the Āq-Quyūnlū. Now Sultān Murād, who had been living with 'Alā'u'd-Dāwla Dhu'l-Qadr, had joined Sultān Salīm in his campaign against Shāh Ismā'il, but had returned before the battle of Chāldirān to Diyār Bakr. In the spring of 921/1515, he collected 8,000 men, and was raiding the neighbouring territories, where Ācha Sultān Qājār defeated him with 800 men, and sent his head as trophy to the Shāh who awarded the victor with the title of "Qudūrmush Sultān <sup>3</sup>".

In the winter of 921/1515-16, a son, Alqāsp Mirzā, was born to the Shāh at Tabriz. Amīr Sultān Mawṣilū and Dīw Sultān Rūmlū, governors of Qāyin and Balkh respectively, came to the Shāh with tidings of a severe famine in Khurāsān, and the inability of Zaynal Khān Shāmlū to cope with the situation <sup>4</sup>. About this time, Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, governor of Dāmghān, rose in rebellion, captured Astarābād, but on the approach of Būrūn Sultān Takkalū and Khwāja Muzaffar Bitikchī, fled towards Gharjistān <sup>5</sup>.

Thereupon, the Shāh appointed Tahmāsp Mirzā governor of Khurāsān, with Amīr Sultān Mawṣilū <sup>6</sup> and Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad as his tutor and minister respectively. Tahmāsp Mirzā left for Khurāsān in the early spring of 922/1516 and reached Hirāt in Rabi' I, 922/April, 1516, where Amīr Khān Mawṣilū took over the affairs of the government.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 94, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> App. 79-80.

<sup>3</sup> Bff. 256b-257a.

<sup>4</sup> App. 80-82.

<sup>5</sup> Jpp. 368-369.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 82. He was also created a "Khān" (Bf. 260b).

The Shāh continued to stay during the summer of 922/1516 and the ensuing winter<sup>1</sup> at Tabriz<sup>2</sup>. During this winter, Malik Qurqura, a Georgian chief, was displaced by another Georgian chief, Minūchihir, but later, recovered his principality through the help of Diw Sultān Rūmlū, Charkas Hasan Takkalū<sup>3</sup>, Nāznin Beg Qājār, Qāzān Beg Rūmlū<sup>4</sup> and Hasan Beg, officers of the Shāh. Minūchir fled, the fort of Tütak was taken after a fortnight's struggle; and the Qizil-Bāsh troops returned to camp with pretty slaves and other treasures for the Shāh<sup>5</sup>.

Having spent the summer of 923/1517 in the summer-quarters of Sūrlūq, the Shāh moved towards Nakhjuwān. During this journey, three sons were born to him in the course of a week<sup>6</sup>: the first, on Tuesday<sup>7</sup>, Sha'bān 21, 923/Sept. 8, 1517, who was named Sām Mirzā and placed under the charge of Dūrmīsh Khān Shāmlū; the second, on Friday<sup>8</sup>, Sha'bān 24<sup>9</sup>/Sept. 11, who was named Rustam Mirzā; and the third<sup>10</sup>, on Tuesday<sup>11</sup>, Sha'bān 28 /Sept. 15, was named Bahrām Mirzā<sup>12</sup>.

At Nakhjuwān, the envoys of Shaykh Shāh of Shirwān renewed the allegiance of their master, whereupon, Shāh Ḥusayn Isfahānī and Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad were sent to Shaykh Shāh to assure him of the Shāh's friendship<sup>13</sup>.

Minūchihir, who had fled to Asia Minor, returned with Qizil Aḥmad Ūghlī to recover his territories. Thereupon, once again, Diw Sultān Rūmlū was despatched to Georgia: Qizil Aḥmad Ūghlī was defeated and slain; Minūchihir fled, and Diw Sultān Rūmlū successfully returned<sup>14</sup> to Nakhjuwān<sup>15</sup>.

Having spent the summer of 924/1518 at Sūrlūq and towards Mount Bisūtūn, the Shāh arrived at Qum on Ramaḍān 1, 924<sup>16</sup>/Sept. 6, 1518.

## (2) *Shāh Ismā'il's Correspondance with Karl V, Emperor of Germany.*

Just as the Ottomans were trying to win over the Uzbeks to crush the power of Shāh Ismā'il, so were European nations trying to crush the

<sup>1</sup> App. 82-83.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83. Bf. 263b incorrectly gives "Nakhjuwān".

<sup>3</sup> Bff. 271a-271b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 271b. Dp. 162 gives "Nārīn Beg Qājār and Qāzāq Beg Rūmlū".

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 271b-272a. It, however, incorrectly states that these affairs took place during the winter of 923-24/1517-18.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 83.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83. Bf. 263b incorrectly gives "Saturday".

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 264a. Ap. 84 incorrectly gives "26".

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 84.

<sup>11</sup> Bf. 264a.

<sup>12</sup> Ap. 84.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85. B incorrectly gives this account under the year "922".

<sup>14</sup> Bf. 277b.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 277b. Dp. 167 incorrectly gives "Chakūr-Sa'd".

<sup>16</sup> Ap. 85.

power of the Ottomans by intriguing with Shāh Ismā'il; consequently, Lodwick II, son of Waladislav II, king of Hungary (922-33/1516-26), despatched an envoy, named Frère Petrus, with a letter to Shāh Ismā'il. The king of Switzerland (Pādishāh-i-Sūzītānī) also sent an envoy to him; and though the replies of Shāh Ismā'il to these monarchs have not been preserved, the Persian translation of a letter in Latin from Shāh Ismā'il to Karl V, Emperor of Germany (925-65/1519-57) has been quoted in the *Kāwa* <sup>1</sup>. The letter is dated Shawwāl, 924/Oct., 1518, and was sent by the hands of the above-mentioned envoy (i.e. Frère Petrus).

"We have seen with pleasure a letter brought by Frère Petrus from the king of Hungary, and we send this letter by the hands of the same envoy. We propose that you and ourselves should advance simultaneously on our common enemy—you from that side (of Europe) and we from this side (of Asia). The best time for such a concerted attack would be next April (i.e. of 1519/Rabi' II, 925), and by the help of God we shall succeed in this mission. We have also received a letter from the king of Switzerland (Pādishāh-i-Sūzītānī) by way of Tabarner (sic), and gave the envoy our reply, but have not yet received an answer. Many Ottoman subjects tell us that Christian rulers are fighting with one another: we are astonished to hear this, because this dissension increases the enemy's power. We have written to the king of Hungary to be cautious about the above-mentioned enemy; because he has 'mobilized an army to attack him. In this enterprise, he (i.e. the Ottoman Sultān) has been continually persuading us, with letters and envoys, to help him; but we have always rejected his proposals <sup>2</sup>, because we want to be with you in your good fortune and bad fortune, even as you have suggested to us; and whosoever deserts or betrays his companion, will be punished by the Omnipotent. Therefore, after settling the affairs (of your State), you should busy yourself in mobilizing an army. God willing there should be no need to write another letter to incite or excite you; the (vast intervening) distance makes it very difficult to send a letter to you, especially as the Ottoman Sultān has captured the seas. We have none else except this man (i.e. Frère Petrus) who could be sent as our envoy to you. . . . ."<sup>3</sup>

After six years (i.e. in 930/1524), this letter reached Karl V, who wrote, from Toledo, an answer in Latin, on Aug. 25, 1525/Dhu'l-Q. 6, 931, and despatched it by the hands of the same envoy:

"Dignified King and beloved brother,

Last year (i.e. 1524/930) a person named (Frère) Petrus brought a letter from Your Majesty, inviting us to be ready in April <sup>4</sup>, for a

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<sup>1</sup> *New Series, Vol. II, No. 7 (Berlin, 1921), pp. 7-8.*

<sup>2</sup> This statement is incorrect. None of the Persian authorities supports it.

<sup>3</sup> *Kāwa, New Series, Vol. II, No. 7 (Berlin, 1921), p. 8.*

<sup>4</sup> It refers to April, 1519. (See above.)

combined war against our common enemy, the Sultān of the Ottoman Turks. Unfortunately we did not receive your letter in time, so that we could have acted on it. Curiously also, the said letter did not bear (your) seal and signature, as is customary with royal correspondence; wherefore, for a long time, we doubted the credentials of the envoy and the genuineness of the letter, but eventually, for the sake of the friendship that subsists between us, we set our doubts at rest. Our delay in reply has been occasioned by our desire for further news, to acquaint us with our duty in enterprizing of such great moment and consequence. But during our suspense, the only news that arrived was that Your Majesty had received a physical injury and had expired; but we hope that that rumour is unfounded.

"There are many points to be considered. Firstly, to collect and lead an army of such dimensions is not easy; secondly, we have been suffering from a serious ailment for the last few months; finally, we were waging war with (Francis I), King of France, whom, after many defeats wherein he lost the bulk of his army, we have now secured as a prisoner of war. For the prosecution of our desire to secure peace in Christendom, there is nothing left for us, after this victory, but to advance on the Turks. Hence the same envoy is returning from us to Your Majesty to acquaint us with your intentions regarding the proposed war. You should convey us your idea through your own trusted envoy, and it is better if the idea is translated into action as soon as possible, for we are perfectly ready to wage war in coalition with Your Majesty".<sup>1</sup>

If ever this letter reached Persia, it must have been in the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who succeeded to the throne on Monday, Rajab 19, 930/May 23, 1524. The news of Shāh Ismā'il's death, however, and of the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp had not reached the Emperor of Germany up to Jumāda II, 6, 935/Feb. 15, 1529, for on this date another letter from Karl V was despatched to Shāh Ismā'il from Toledo by the hands of an army commander John Balbi to negotiate a treaty with Persia. The fate of this second letter is also uncertain<sup>2</sup>.

### (3) *Minor Events.*

'Abdu'l-Karim and Āqā Muḥammad, rulers of Māzandarān, withheld the payment of tribute till after a four days' siege Dürmīsh Khān Shāmlū took the fort and slaughtered the garrison of Kalīs on Dhu'l-Ḥ. 11, 924/Dec. 14, 1518. Meanwhile, the Shāh had proceeded from Qum to Isfahān to spend the summer of 925/1519.

<sup>1</sup> *Kāwa, New Series, Vol. II, No. 7 (Berlin, 1921), pp. 8-9.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

At Isfahān, the Shāh killed 15,000 animals, in a hunting expedition: the winter was spent<sup>1</sup> at Qum<sup>2</sup>, and the spring at Ulang-i-Rādikān. The revolt of Amīrā Dubbāj, who had succeeded his father, Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, in the governorship of Rasht and Fūman, was suppressed by Dürmīsh Khān Shāmlū without resorting to arms<sup>3</sup>; but about this time Balkh was permanently lost and Gharjistān annexed to Persian territory.

In Rabi' I, 922/April, 1516, Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā and Urdū Shāh, ruler of Gharjistān, laid siege to Balkh, and with the help of the traitor Muḥammad Ḥaydar 'Alī occupied the town on Rabi' II, 3, 922/May 6, 1516. After two months and a half, the confederates fell out, Urdū Shāh decreed that his brother Qiwām Beg should become the governor of Balkh; Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā suborned the followers of Urdū Shāh, and besieged Balkh. After a month's siege Urdū Shāh was lured out of the town and assassinated. Thereupon, Qiwām Beg applied to Bābur at Kābul for help: Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā raised the siege of Balkh and fled; and Balkh passed from the possession of Qiwām Beg to Ibrāhīm Jālūq, the governor of Bābur<sup>4</sup>.

Amīr Khān Mawṣilū, regent at Hirāt on behalf of Prince Tahmāsp, tried to benefit from the afflictions of Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā in Gharjistān (end of 923/beginning of 1518). Weakened by these new foes<sup>5</sup>, Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā could not resist the attack of Ibrāhīm Jālūq, into whose hands he had the misfortune to fall. Conveyed a prisoner from Balkh to Kābul, Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā returned to Balkh as the governor, for he had repaired his fortune by marrying at Kābul the daughter of Bābur<sup>6</sup>.

There remained the principality of Gharjistān vacated by Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā. Shāh Muḥammad Sayfu'l-Mulūk, the usurper, struck for independence (925/1519), but fled before the Persian general Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, and was lost to view on his way to Jijaktū. Thereupon, Muḥammad Beg was appointed the Persian governor of Gharjistān<sup>7</sup>.

To return to the royal camp at Sulṭāniyya. In the beginning of Shawwāl (926/Oct., 1520), the Shāh received the news of the Ottoman's advance on Baghdād from Shāh 'Alī Beg alias 'Awaḍ Sulṭān, governor of the Arabian 'Irāq, whereupon, Dürmīsh Khān Shāmlū, Zaynal Khān Shāmlū and Jūha Sulṭān were sent to Baghdād, while the Shāh himself marched towards Mount Bisutūn<sup>8</sup>. The Baghdād expedition, however, ended abruptly, for Sulṭān Salīm<sup>9</sup> died on Saturday, Shawwāl 9, 926<sup>10</sup>/Sept. 22, 1520. The Shāh now moved to Qum and thence to Isfahān, to spend the winter of 926-27<sup>11</sup>/1520-21.

<sup>1</sup> App. 85-87.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87. Cf. 209b incorrectly gives "Tabriz".

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>6</sup> Jp. 273.

<sup>9</sup> Bf. 284b.

<sup>4</sup> Jpp. 268-273.

<sup>7</sup> Bff. 280b-282b.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 276b.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 88.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.



In the ensuing spring, the Shāh returned to Sāwa, where the Baghdād-expeditionary force rejoined him. Ordering the troops to spend the summer at Firūz-Kūh, the Shāh moved to Hamadān, where he celebrated the marriage of his daughter <sup>1</sup>, Khānish Khānum <sup>2</sup>, with Amīra Dubbāj. The title of "Muzaffar Sultān" was conferred on the bridegroom, and the Shāh moved on to Nabāb-i-Marāghā, to celebrate the marriage of another daughter with Sultān Khalīl ibn Shaykh Shāh of Shirwān <sup>3</sup>. The Shāh went to Tabriz, and a month later, left for Nakhjuwān, to spend the winter of 927-28/1521-22 <sup>4</sup>. The revolt of the Georgian chief, Lawand Khān <sup>5</sup>, was quickly suppressed by Dīw Sultān Rūmlū; and a new division was made of Māzandarān: two-thirds of the province to be administered by 'Abdu'l-Karīm and one-third by Āqā Muḥammad for an annual tribute of 4,000 tūmāns and 3,000 tūmāns respectively. This altercation was resented by Āqā Muḥammad, who fought with 'Abdu'l-Karīm, lost the engagement, fled, and was brought a prisoner to camp by Jūha Sultān. 'Abdu'l-Karīm was now given the whole province for the total tribute of 7,000 tūmāns per annum <sup>6</sup>. The Shāh spent the summer of 928/1522 at Sihand <sup>7</sup> and Awjān <sup>8</sup>.

#### (4) *Disorders in Khurāsān.*

Favouritism dictated to Amīr Khān Mawṣilū, regent of Khurāsān, the displacement of the minister Majdu'd-Dīn Muḥammad by Amīr Samarqandī, and fraternity influenced the appointment of Ibrāhīm Sultān as counsellor. The new minister imposed heavy taxes <sup>9</sup>, and the news of the consequential unrest reached Turkey. An Ottoman spy, who was caught in the Shāh's camp (at Nakhjuwān) towards the end of 923 <sup>10</sup>/1517, disclosed that he had been instructed to report on "the rebellion of Amīr Khān"; whereupon, the Shāh, thoroughly alarmed, promptly sent for Amīr Khān from Khurāsān. The summons reached Hirāt in Dhu'l-Ḥ., 923/Dec., 1517, and as the Uzbeks were threatening Khurāsān, Amīr Khān despatched Khwāja Muẓaffar Bitikchī and Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad to explain to the Shāh the cogent military reasons which were preventing the regent from complying with the royal mandate. Curiously, it took the messengers three months to proceed from Hirāt to Nakhjuwān. They arrived in Rabī' I, 924/Mar., 1518; Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad was granted the revenues

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 210a. 'Abdu'l-Fattāḥ Fūmanī's *Tārīkh-i-Gilān* (St. Petersburg, 1858), pp. 6-8 incorrectly gives "Khayru'n-Nisā Begum". It also incorrectly gives the date of marriage as "Sha'bhān, 923".

<sup>3</sup> App. 93-94.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 288b. Ap. 94 incorrectly states that the Shāh spent this winter at "Tabriz".

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 288b.

<sup>6</sup> App. 92-93.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>8</sup> Bf. 297b.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 94.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94. Bf. 291a incorrectly gives "926".

of Hirāt-Rūd, and Khwāja Muẓaffar Bitikchī was awarded the title of "Sultān".

Amīr Khān chaffed at the royal liberality or caprice, and on the arrival of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad at Hirāt, towards the end of Ramaḍān, 924/Sept., 1518, treated him coldly. A few days earlier, on Ramaḍān 3, 924/Sept. 8, 1518, Amīr Khān had put Amīr Samarqandī to death and had appointed 'Alī Jān Karāh-Rūdi in his place. Ibrāhīm Sultān disagreed with the harsh policy of his brother, left for the royal camp, and was retained there as the Shāh's Seal-Keeper. Finally, the Shāh sent Abū Sa'id Isfahānī to tell the regent to change his attitude towards Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad<sup>1</sup>.

Meanwhile, Bābur had besieged Qandahār, and the appeals of Amīr Khān to raise the siege had been disregarded<sup>2</sup>.

In the spring of 927/1521, 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān crossed the river Oxus, with 30,000 men, for the invasion of Khurāsān. The news reached Hirāt on Jumāda II, 16, 927<sup>3</sup>/May 25, 1521. Amīr Khān<sup>4</sup> strengthened the fortifications, and appointed Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad on the Malik Gate, Piri Sultān and Šūfiyān Khalifa Rūmlū on the 'Irāq Gate, Marjūmak Sultān on the Khwush Gate, and Nakhwud Beg on the Firūzābād Gate. The fort of Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn was put in charge of Ishāq Beg and Maḥsūd Beg, the wall from the fort of Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn to the tower of Sultān Aḥmad Mirzā was entrusted to Pir Aḥmad Beg, Hidāyat Beg and Qāsim Beg, and these elaborate arrangements were completed by Amīr Khān taking his own position in the city-garden with 500 reserves.

'Ubaydu'llāh Khān reached Hirāt on Jumāda II, 19, 927/May 28, 1521, and partly invested the city. At Bāgh-i-Zāghān the Uzbeks were repulsed by Shātir 'Abdu'llāh, and similarly at the Malik Gate by Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad. The 'Irāq Gate likewise remained unpierced, and the Uzbeks, losing heart, left for Transoxiana on Rajab 4, 927<sup>5</sup>/June 11, 1521.

On Rajab 6, 927<sup>6</sup>/June 13, 1521, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad was imprisoned in the fort of Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn, and the next day<sup>7</sup> he was strangled to death by Qāsim Beg. In his message to the Shāh the personal animosity of the regent was concealed by imputing to the late minister the design of surrendering Hirāt to Bābur<sup>8</sup>. The Shāh, however, issued peremptory orders for the recall of Ṭahmāsp Mirzā and the dismissal of the regent: the new governor was Sām Mirzā and the new regent Dürmish Khān Shāmlū. Dürmish Khān reached Hirāt on Dhu'l-Ḥ. 6, 927/Nov. 7,

<sup>1</sup> App. 94-96. \*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97. Yp. 278 incorrectly states that at this time Khurāsān was governed by Sām Mirzā and Dürmish Khān.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97-99.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. "Rajab 7". Dp. 174 incorrectly gives "Rajab 8".

<sup>8</sup> App. 99-100.

1521, and proceeded straight to Sabzawār whence he returned to Hirāt with Ṭahmāsp Mirzā and Amīr Khān. The order for the new appointments was served at Hirāt a few days later by Khiḍar Beg; and on Šafar 3, 928/Jan. 2, 1522, the ex-governor and ex-regent left for the royal camp. Karīmu'd-Dīn Ḥabību'llāh arrived at Hirāt as the new Seal-Keeper <sup>1</sup>.

Meanwhile, Bābur, at the request of Dürmish Khān, had raised the siege of Qandahār and had returned to Kābul. Accordingly, Dürmish Khān sent an envoy, Tāju'd-Dīn Ḥasan Chalapī, to thank Bābur for acceding to his request; but shortly after, on Jumāda II, 27, 928/May 24, 1522, there arrived at Hirāt envoys from Bābur bringing for Dürmish Khān the extraordinary information of the fall of Qandahār. For, Shujā' Beg, finding that the siege of Qandahār was raised, had left for the river Sind (or Indus) appointing 'Abdu'l-Bāqī the officiating governor. This traitor, however, threw open the gates of Qandahār to Bābur <sup>2</sup>.

In his capacity of regent, Dürmish Khān appointed Zaynal Khān Shāmlū governor of Jurjān; Zaynu'd-Dīn Sultān of Isfarāyin and Nishāpūr; Būrūn Sultān Takkalū of Mashhad and Tūs; Šūfiyān Khalifa Rūmlū of Turbat; Aḥmad Sultān Afshār of Hirāt-Rūd, Langar-i-Gihyāthiyya, Farāh and Sabzawār (now in Afghānistān); and retained Chakūrka Sultān in the governorship of Sabzawār (in Persia). Sām Mirzā reached Hirāt on Ramaḍān 17, 928 <sup>3</sup>/Aug. 10, 1522.

Amīr Khān fell seriously ill on the way, and reached the royal camp <sup>4</sup> in the summer-quarters of Awjān in the end of Jumāda II, 928 <sup>5</sup>/May, 1522. For the murder of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, the following persons: Fīr Aḥmad Beg, Hidāyat Beg, 'Alī Jān Karāh-Rūdi, Qāsim Beg, Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Ṭabasi and 'Idāyatu'llāh were imprisoned, and their property was confiscated. Amīr Khān escaped prosecution because of his serious illness. But he died shortly after on the night of Sunday, Sha'bān 12, 928 <sup>6</sup>/July 7, 1522.

#### (5) *Minor Events and Death of Shāh Ismā'īl.*

In the beginning of the winter 929/1522-23, the Shāh moved to Tabriz <sup>7</sup> and granted lands in Khurāsān and Fārs to the Ottoman refugees, Walad Beg ibn 'Alī Beg ibn Shāh Suwār Beg Dhu'l-Qadr, and a group of the Ghazālī Arabs <sup>8</sup>. Jalālū'd-Dīn Muḥammad Tabrizī was appointed counsellor in place of Shāh Ḥusayn Isfahānī, who was murdered by Mihtar Shāh Qulī, Keeper of the Royal Saddle-Room <sup>9</sup>, on Jumāda I, 28, 929 <sup>10</sup>/April 14,

<sup>1</sup> App. 100-103.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-105.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> Bf. 297b.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. 105.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>8</sup> Bff. 298b-300a. Dp. 172 incorrectly mentions this event under the year "927".

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 106-108.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106. Dp. 178 incorrectly gives "Jumāda II, 8, 929" (Apr. 24, 1523). This does not correspond with the days of the Naw-Rūz celebrations during which the counsellor was murdered.

1523. The assassin, who owed 7,000 tūmāns to the royal treasury, was torn to pieces by the victim's servants, to whom he was handed over by the Shāh. Curiously, the date of the counsellor's assassination is given by the chronogram of his full name "میرزا شاه حسین اصفهانی" <sup>1</sup>.

Jāyān Sultān Ustājilū, the premier, died and was succeeded by his son Bāyazīd Beg Ustājilū <sup>2</sup>.

The Shāh sent Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad and Damūri Beg to Shaykh Shāh of Shirwān who had promised to give one of his daughters in marriage to the Shāh. The marriage was celebrated by proxy in Shirwān, and the bride arrived with a rich dowry on Dhu'l-Ḥ. 25, 929 <sup>3</sup>/Nov. 4, 1523.

The winter of 930/1523-24, the Shāh spent at Nakhjuwān, and in the ensuing spring, he marched towards Shirwān, but on receiving, at the river Kur, the news of Shaykh Shāh's death, he appointed Sultān Khalīl ibn Shaykh Shāh governor of Shirwān, and moved on to Shakī. He spent a few days hunting in Mount Shāh-Dāghī and returned to Tabriz by way of Ardabil <sup>4</sup>.

Lawand Khān, the Georgian chief, invaded Shakī <sup>5</sup>, and put Ḥasan Beg <sup>6</sup>, the governor, to death, whereupon, the local inhabitants elected Darwish Muḥammad Beg ibn Ḥasan Beg as their governor.

Bāyazīd Beg Ustājilū, the premier, died and was succeeded by Dīw Sultān Rūmlū <sup>7</sup>.

Shāh Ismā'il was unwell at Shakī, but recovered at Ardabil. Later, on his way to Tabriz, he was attacked by high fever at Šā'in-Kadūkī, and died at Tabriz <sup>8</sup>, on the morning of Monday <sup>9</sup>, Rajab 19, 930/May 23, 1524. Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad washed the Shāh's body for burial, and he was interred at Ardabil by the side of his ancestors. At the time of his death, Shāh Ismā'il was only thirty eight years of age, but had reigned twenty four years <sup>10</sup>. The words "طاب مضجعه" <sup>11</sup> (may his grave be fragrant) yield 930 A.H. and constitute the chronogram of his death.

Shāh Ismā'il left four sons, namely: (1) Taḥmāsp Mirzā, who succeeded him, (2) Alqāsp Mirzā, (3) Sām Mirzā and (4) Bahrām Mirzā; and five daughters, namely: (1) Khānish Khānum, (2) Parī Khān Khānum, (3) Mahīn Bānū Sultānum, (4) Farangīs Khānum <sup>12</sup> and (5) Zaynab Khānum <sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> App. 106-108.

<sup>2</sup> Bf. 302a.

<sup>3</sup> App. 108-110.

<sup>4</sup> Bff. 302b-303b.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 303b.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 303b. Dpp. 180-181 gives "Ḥusayn Beg".

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 303b.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 303b-304a. Tp. 328, Up. 271 and Vp. 246 incorrectly state that he died at "Ardabil".

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 304a and Cf. 211b. Dp. 181, Ef. 53b and If. 97a incorrectly give "the night preceding Monday".

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 304b.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 305a.

<sup>12</sup> Dp. 183.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183. Ef. 54b gives "Shāhzāda Sultānum".

“He not only eliminated all his numerous rivals in Persia, but greatly enlarged her frontiers <sup>1</sup> and almost restored the ancient frontiers of Sāsānian times”<sup>2</sup>. He ruled over Adharbāyjān, Persian ‘Irāq, Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān and Khurāsān, to which were occasionally added the province of Diyār Bakr, and the towns of Marw, Balkh <sup>3</sup> and Qandahār.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sp.* 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Dp.* 182.



## **PART THREE**

## CHAPTER VIII

### CHARACTER OF SHĀH ISMĀ'IL

The character of Shāh Ismā'il given by Persian historians is as follows:—

“During his reign he treated his subjects with justice and kindness, and due to his fear none could open the gates of tyranny on the faces of people <sup>1</sup>. He had inherited bravery from 'Alī, the refuge of the Friendship of God <sup>2</sup>. 'In the battle-field he was a lion wielding a dagger, and in the banquet-hall a cloud raining pearls. Such was his bounty that pure gold and worthless salt were alike in his sight, while by reason of his lofty spirit the produce of ocean and mine did not suffice for the donations of a single day, and his treasury was generally empty. He had a passion for the chase and alone used to slay lions. He had issued orders that whoever should bring news of a lion should receive from his officers a horse and saddle; and he who should bring news of a leopard an unsaddled horse <sup>3</sup>. He would go forth alone and kill lions and leopards.' <sup>4</sup>

“Originally he contemplated to conquer the whole world, but his ideas did not materialize due to the intervention and predominance of the Isfahānīs; because, firstly, Najm-i-Thānī prevented him from extirpating the enemy in person, led a huge army to Transoxiana and annihilated it (including himself); and secondly, Shāh Ḥusayn Isfahānī drew him to games and drinking, so much so, that for (the last) ten years (of his life), the king, who was Jupiter in grandeur, spent his time in 'Irāq and Ādharbāyjān, and never thought of extirpating foreign foes; so that the original idea of conquering the whole world went out of his mind.

“Such excesses resulted in extreme weakness in the limbs of that dignified king, and he passed away to the immortal world in the prime of his life.” <sup>5</sup>

“During his reign he fought five (great) battles:—

- (1) With Farrukh Yasār the Shirwān Shāh at Jiyānī (in the middle of 906/end of 1500);

<sup>1</sup> Bf. 304b. Ilyās Beg Dhu'l-Qadr known as Kajal Beg and Julbān Beg, the governors of Fārs and Tārum respectively, were put to death by the Shāh's orders, for they ill-treated the subjects.

<sup>2</sup> Ef. 54a.

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 304b (translation from Sp. 82).

<sup>4</sup> Dpp. 182-183 (translation from Sp. 82).

<sup>5</sup> Eff. 54a-54b.



- (2) With Alwand (Mirzā) at Shūrūr (in the beginning of 907/middle of 1501);
- (3) With Sulṭān Murād at Ūlama Qūlāghī near Hamadān (on Dhul'-H. 24, 908/June 21, 1503);
- (4) With Shaybānī Khān in the neighbourhood of Marw (on Sha'bān 30, 916/Dec. 2, 1510); and
- (5) With (the Ottoman) Sulṭān Ṣalīm I at Chāldirān<sup>1</sup> (on Rajab 2, 920/Aug. 23, 1514)."

The most conspicuous feature of his character is his bravery. He slew a bear single-handed near Sārūqāya when he was thirteen<sup>2</sup>, and later, when he had grown to manhood, he shot a lion, unassisted in 'Irāq<sup>3</sup>. Similarly, in the field of battle his personal bravery was exceptional. At the age of thirteen and a half, with 7,000 men, he engaged the Shirwān Shāh in a bloody battle<sup>4</sup>. Here, as elsewhere, he fought in the front rank for hours. It was his bravery that routed the Uzbeks, and it was in spite of his bravery that he was routed at Chāldirān. He shared the spoils of war with his troops, but if he could be kind to his friends, he could be unkind, cruel or even ruthless to his enemies. He burnt the body of the Shirwān Shāh<sup>5</sup>; and he made a drinking cup of the skull of Shaybānī Khān<sup>6</sup>. He erected pyramids of human skulls in Shirwān and Khurāsān<sup>7</sup>; and of animal skulls in Isfahān<sup>8</sup>.

He was an accomplished archer; says a contemporary merchant who visited Tabriz in the end of 915/1509: "For a fortnight Ismael continued to join in archery every day with his lords in a maidan, in the midst of which was a pole, on which was placed a golden apple (twenty apples, ten of gold and ten of silver, being provided for the day's sport), at which, they shot from their bows while running, and whoever hit it took it for his own.....In the archery trials at the apple, he is so expert that of every ten knocked down he hits six.....He always has a guard of a thousand soldiers, to attend him at these sports; besides there is a crowd of about thirty thousand people, composed of citizens and soldiers round the maidan"<sup>9</sup>. Further, the same merchant describes the Shāh's appearance: "At present he is about thirty-one<sup>10</sup>, very handsome, of a magnanimous countenance, and about middle height; he is fair, stout, and with broad shoulders, his beard is shaved and he only wears a moustache, not

<sup>1</sup> Dp. 183. In all these battles except the last he was victorious.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 34-35, supra.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 55, supra.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 35-36, supra.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 36, supra.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 63, supra.

<sup>7</sup> See supra pp. 36 and 63 respectively.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 55, supra.

<sup>9</sup> Zpp. 201-202.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202. This is incorrect. At this time (i.e. in 915/1509) Shāh Ismā'il was 23 years and a half old.

appearing to be a very hairy man. He is as amiable as a girl, left-handed by nature, is as lively as a fawn, and stronger than any of his lords" <sup>1</sup>.

The same contemporary merchant then describes how Shāh Ismā'il is loved by the people: "This sophi is loved and revered by his people as a god, and especially by his soldiers, many of whom enter into battle without armour, expecting their master Ismael to watch over them in the fight. There are also others to go into battle without armour, being willing to die for their monarch, rushing on with naked breasts, crying Schiac, Schiac (Shaykh, Shaykh <sup>2</sup>)".

The Shāh composed two "*Diwāns*" <sup>3</sup>, one in Turkish and the other in Persian verse <sup>3</sup> in honour of the Imāms, whose shrines he protected and reconstructed. Barring these renovated shrines, the only contribution of Shāh Ismā'il in town-building and planning is the widening of the famous Maydān of Isfahān <sup>4</sup>.

To commemorate his achievements, Shāh Ismā'il ordered Riyāḍi of Zāwa and 'Abdu'llāh Hātifi of Jām to write the history of his reign: the former died in 921 <sup>5</sup>/1515 and the latter in 927 <sup>6</sup>/1520, leaving their historical poems unfinished. *Shāh Nāma-i-Māḍi* or *Shāh Nāma-i-Qāsimi* by Qāsim Qāsimi Gunābādi is extant and has been lithographed at Lucknow in 1870 A.D.<sup>7</sup> This Qāsimi has further celebrated in "Mathnawī" verse the Shāh's skill in polo; the treatise bearing the alternative names of *Kār Nāma* or *Gū-wa-Chawgān* <sup>8</sup>. These trite verses together with the well-known *Ḥabībū's-Siyar* of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn represent the entire output of the extant Persian literature dealing with the reign of Shāh Ismā'il.

<sup>1</sup> Zp. 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 304b. He composed poetry under the pen-name of "Khaṭā'i". Gpp. 68-72 gives a selection from his *Turkish Diwān*.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 56, *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī*, Part V (Patna, 1934), p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Jp. 346.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 9, *supra*. Sp. 83 incorrectly states that the work is not published.

<sup>8</sup> *Rieu's Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, Vol. II (London, 1881), p. 660b.

## CHAPTER IX

### SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION UNDER SHĀH ISMĀ'IL

Shāh Ismā'il was essentially a self-made sovereign. Without inheriting a kingdom or even a principality from his ancestors, he brought all Persia under his sway, and laid the foundations of a kingdom which endured in his family for more than two centuries.

The system of administration was as follows:—

*The Shāh* embodied in himself the absolute power of the kingdom, and was the sole master of his subjects. He was also the chief-justice and the commander-in-chief of his realms. He himself decided all important cases and personally led his expeditions against the enemy.

*The Council* consisted of the following persons, who were directly appointed by the Shāh:—

- (1) The Wakīl (Counsellor), one;
- (2) The Amīru'l-Umarā (Prime-minister), one;
- (3) The Ṣadr (Chancellor), one; and
- (4) The Wazīr (Minister), number not limited.

There were also two other officers of note, namely:

- (1) Īshak Āqāsī Bāshī (Master of Ceremonies), one; and
- (2) The Muḥr-Dār (Seal-Keeper), one.

The qualifications of the counsellor, prime-minister, chancellor and minister (posts whose status was in descending order to their enumeration) were proved loyalty, experience and wisdom. These four were consulted by the Shāh in affairs of State, whereas the Master of Ceremonies controlled State ceremonies and received royal guests; and the Seal-Keeper, as his name shows, was in charge of the royal seal, described as "a diamond set in a beautifully worked ring of gold; half the size of a nut; and engraved in minute letters with the name of Ismael encircled by the names of the Twelve Imāms"<sup>1</sup>. Occasionally, as a mark of honour, the Shāh ordered that documents bearing the royal seal should be counter-sealed with the counsellor's or the premier's seal.

Nothing is known of the system of account-keeping or taxation. The main sources of revenue were: (1) booty secured in wars, (2) land-revenue, (3) taxes on merchants paid in cash, and (4) tribute from feudatory princes.

<sup>1</sup> Zp. 206.

*War Department.*—There was no regular standing army save special horse-guards of the Shāh and of the provincial governors known as “Qūrchīs”. Troops consisting only of cavalry were collected from the provinces at the time of need, and later sent back to their respective provinces.

The provincial governors kept standing troops to maintain peace, to check foreign invasion and to form the royal army whenever sent for. All important expeditions were led by the Shāh in person, or else the governors were the commander-in-chiefs of their respective troops.

An Italian merchant thus describes the Persian soldiers whom he saw at Tabriz in 916/1510. “They are accustomed to wear a red caftan and above that a high conical turban made with a dozen folds, representing the twelve sacraments of their sect, or the twelve descendants of Ali<sup>1</sup>; besides this they neither shave either their beard or whiskers (sic). Their dress has never changed; their armour is of beautifully worked and carved steel cuirasses, besides coats of mail, helmets like those of the Mamelukes (of Egypt); their harness is very strong, bound with cotton; sometimes it is of the fine steel of Siraz (Shīrāz), and sometimes of copper, but not like ours (i.e. the Italians), but all in pieces like that of Soria (Syria): they have other helmets or head-pieces of heavy mail. Every one rides, and so there are no foot soldiers; they use lances, swords, and slings, besides bows with many shafts”<sup>2</sup>.

*Correspondence Department.*—Information on this account is not available save that horse-riders (Qūrchīs) were utilized for speedy communication.

*Administration of Justice.*—As mentioned above, the Shāh himself was the chief-justice, who settled all important affairs of State after consultation with the counsellor and prime-minister.

Next to the Shāh, the counsellor was the highest authority to hold the court, and was responsible to the Shāh for stability and good work of the government. No details are available, however, of regular courts in the country.

*Provincial Government.*—Generally military men were appointed governors of provinces; and they had the right to delegate their powers. Sometimes governors were appointed on the condition of paying regular tribute to the royal treasury. The number of standing troops in each province was according to the income of that province. Besides being commander-in-chiefs, the governors were also chief-justices of their respective provinces. They had the power to appoint sub-governors, who were responsible to them for the welfare of their subjects. Almost every town had a fort properly guarded by a warden, but nothing else is

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<sup>1</sup> This is incorrect. ‘Ali (ibn Abī Tālib) is included in the Twelve Imāms.

<sup>2</sup> Zpp. 206-207.

mentioned by Persian historians regarding administration of justice and maintenance of peace in towns and villages.

*Shāh Ismā'il's Counsellors.*

(1) *Husayn Beg Lala* was in the service of Sultān Ḥaydar and Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh and was appointed by the latter tutor to Shāh Ismā'il. He was appointed counsellor and premier, in the beginning of 907/middle of 1501, and held both offices till the winter of 913/1507-8. Thereafter, he continued as premier till the winter of 916/1509-10. He fell fighting at Chāldirān on Rajab 2, 920/Aug. 23, 1514.

(2) *Najmu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd Rashtī* was a goldsmith by profession. He served Shāh Ismā'il and his brother Ibrāhīm Mirzā in their childhood at Rasht, was appointed counsellor in the winter of 913/1507-8, and held this office till his death in the middle of 915/1509.

(3) *Yār Aḥmad Isfahānī* was a nobleman of Isfahān. He was appointed minister in the winter of 914/1508-9 at Shīrāz, and became counsellor in the middle of 915/1509 with the title of Najm-i-Thānī (the Second Star) for he succeeded Najm-i-Awwal (the First Star). He was the commander-in-chief of the Transoxiana expedition and met his death at the hands of 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān Uzbek on Ramaḍān 3, 918/Nov. 12, 1512.

(4) *Nizāmu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Yazdī* was a nobleman of Yazd. He was appointed chanceller in Dhu'l-H., 917/Feb., 1512, and counsellor in 918/1513. He was killed in the battle of Chāldirān on Rajab 2, 920/Aug. 23, 1514.

(5) *Shāh Husayn Isfahānī* was in the service of Dürmiş Khān Shāmlū, master of ceremonies, and was appointed governor of Isfahān in the summer of 909/1503. He was appointed counsellor in Sha'bān, 920/Oct., 1514, and was assassinated by Mihtar Shāh Qulī, Keeper of the Royal Saddle-Room, on Jumāda I, 28, 929/Apr. 14, 1523, from whom he demanded arrears of 7,000 tūmāns due to the royal treasury.

(6) *Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Tabrizī* was a nobleman of Tabriz and was appointed counsellor in Jumāda II, 929/Apr., 1523. During the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp he was burnt to death in 930/1524 at the instigation of his rival Diw Sultān Rūmlū, the premier. When he was sewn in a bag to be burnt, he recited:

گرفتم خانه در کوئی بلا در من گرفت آتش    کسی کو خانه در کوئی بلا گیرد چنین گیرد<sup>1</sup>

I sought my abode in the lane of calamity (and) I caught fire;

Whosoever takes his abode in the lane of calamity comes to this end.

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<sup>1</sup> Dp. 184.

## APPENDIX A

### THE ĀQ-QUYŪNLŪS

The first Āq-Quyŭnlŭ to assume royal power was Amīr Ḥasan Beg (or Ūzŭn Ḥasan) ibn 'Alī Beg ibn Qarā 'Uthmān.

Amīr Ḥasan Beg (or Ūzŭn Ḥasan) succeeded to the throne of Diyār Bakr<sup>1</sup> in 857<sup>2</sup>/1453. To strengthen himself against the powerful Ottoman Sulṭān Muḥammad II (855-86/1451-81), Kalo Joannes, the last (but one) christian emperor of Trebizond, and of the noble house of Comneni, gave his daughter, named Despina Caton, in marriage to Amīr Ḥasan Beg; but this alliance did not prove useful. for, Kalo Joannes died, and was succeeded by his brother David, who was captured by the Ottomans, and Trebizond was annexed to the Ottoman empire<sup>3</sup> in 1461<sup>4</sup>.

Amīr Ḥasan Beg received Sulṭān Junayd (grandfather of Shāh Ismā'il) at Ḥiṣn Kayf, and gave his sister, named Khadija Begum, in marriage to him and kept him as his guest for a few years<sup>5</sup>.

Jahān Shāh, the Qarā-Quyŭnlŭ ruler of Adharbāyjan, set out from Tabriz<sup>6</sup>, on Shawwāl 8, 872<sup>7</sup>/May 4, 1468, to annex Diyār Bakr. His vanguard was surprised by Amīr Ḥasan Beg in the desert of Mūsh<sup>8</sup>, he himself was put to death while he was staying behind<sup>9</sup>, and his head was sent to Sulṭān Abū Sa'id 19, the Timŭrid ruler of Khurāsān. His two sons, named Muhammadi and Yūsuf, were also captured, of whom the former was put to death and the latter blinded<sup>11</sup>.

Ḥasan 'Alī, another son of Jahān Shāh, invoked the help of Sulṭān Abū Sa'id, who advanced from Khurāsān, but before his arrival in Adharbāyjan, Ḥasan 'Alī was deserted by his soldiers at Mārand and was thus compelled to flee back to Miyāna, where he joined Sulṭān Abū Sa'id. Amīr Ḥasan Beg tried to make peace, but the mission proved unsuccessful, and Sulṭān Abū Sa'id advanced on him. In the ensuing battle, on Rajab 16, 873/Jan. 30, 1469, Sulṭān Abū Sa'id was defeated and taken prisoner. Two days later, he was handed over to Mirzā Yādgŭr Muḥammad, the Timŭrid, and was put to death on Rajab 22, 873<sup>12</sup>/Feb. 5, 1469.

Ḥasan 'Alī succeeded in making his escape to Hamadān, but was pursued by Ughŭrlŭ Muḥammad ibn Amīr Ḥasan Beg, and put to death in Shawwāl, 873<sup>13</sup>/Apr., 1469.

Amīr Ḥasan Beg now became the master of Adharbāyjan and the two 'Irāqs, and fixed his capital at Tabriz<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Browne's *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, Vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), p. 404.

<sup>3</sup> Zp. 9. Also footnote on the same page.

<sup>4</sup> *Cambridge Modern Hist.*, Vol. I (Cambridge, 1907), p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 23, *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 191a.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 190b.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 191a.

<sup>9</sup> Jpp. 187-188.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. 191a.

<sup>11</sup> Jp. 188.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 188-191.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. 190a-190b.

<sup>14</sup> Ap. 14.

In 878/1473, at the instigation of the Venetian Republic <sup>1</sup>, he twice tried his fortune on the field of battle against the Ottoman Sultān Muḥammad II <sup>2</sup>, firstly, in the ford of the river Euphrates near Malāṭiya <sup>3</sup>, where he defeated the Turks with a heavy loss <sup>4</sup>; and secondly, at Askī-Dih <sup>5</sup>, where he sustained a crushing defeat, and his son Zaynal Beg lost his life in the battle <sup>6</sup>.

In 879/1473, Ughūrlū Muḥammad rebelled against his father, Amīr Ḥasan Beg, but on the approach of Amīr Ḥasan Beg, he fled and took refuge with the Ottoman Sultān Muḥammad II <sup>7</sup>. In the following year he was lured back by his father on the pretext of death, and was put to sword <sup>8</sup>.

Amīr Ḥasan Beg further connected his relation with the Ṣafawī family by giving his daughter, Ḥallīma Begī Āghā better known as 'Ālam Shāh Begum, in marriage to Sultān Ḥaydar ibn Sultān Junayd <sup>9</sup>.

In 881/1476-77, Amīr Ḥasan Beg invaded Georgia and captured Tiflis, and breathed his last on the night preceding Shawwāl 1 <sup>10</sup>, 882 <sup>11</sup>/Jan. 6, 1478. He had seven sons, namely: Ughūrlū Muḥammad, Maqṣūd Beg, Zaynal Beg, Sultān Khalīl, Ya'qūb Mirzā Yūsuf Beg and Masīḥ Mirzā, of whom the first three predeceased him <sup>12</sup>.

Sultān Khalīl (governor of Fārs during his father's life time) succeeded to the throne, and appointed his brother, Ya'qūb Mirzā, governor of Diyār Bakr.

Sultān Khalīl proved weak, and the nobles of his court declared for Ya'qūb Mirzā, who, thereupon, advanced on Ādharbāyjān. In the ensuing battle near Marand <sup>13</sup>, on Rabi' II, 14, 883 <sup>14</sup>/July 15, 1478, Sultān Khalīl lost his life and Ya'qūb Mirzā occupied Tabriz.

Ya'qūb Mirzā ascended the throne. Aḥmad Beg ibn Sultān Khalīl and Kūsa Ḥājji Bāyandar, rose in revolt at Shīrāz and Isfahān respectively, but the rebellions were easily suppressed. Similarly, in 886/1481-82, Bāyandar Beg rose in revolt at Isfahān, but was killed by the king's vanguard commanded by Ṣūfī Khalīl.

In 887/1482-83, Ya'qūb Mirzā invaded Georgia, and in the following year he built a beautiful palace, named Hasht Bihišt (Eight Paradises), outside Tabriz <sup>15</sup>.

Being envious of Sultān Ḥaydar's increasing power, Ya'qūb Mirzā seized the opportunity of helping Farrukh Yasār, the Shirwān Shāh, against Sultān Ḥaydar, who had set out from Ardābil for the invasion of Charkāh and Dāghistān. In the ensuing battle, on Rajab 20, 893/July 1, 1488, Sultān Ḥaydar lost his life, and his son and successor, Sultān 'Alī Mirzā aroused the suspicion of Ya'qūb Mirzā, whereupon, in the end of Rabi' II, 894/end of March 1489, Sultān 'Alī Mirza, his brothers, Ibrāhīm Mirzā and Ismā'īl Mirzā, and their mother, were imprisoned in the fort of Istakhr in Fārs <sup>16</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*. (Haklyut Society, London, 1873), pp. 36-37.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 192a.

<sup>3</sup> *Browne's Lit. Hist. of Persia, Vol. III* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 412.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 192a.

<sup>5</sup> Mf. 77b.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 192a. *Browne's Lit. Hist. of Persia, Vol. III*, p. 412 incorrectly gives 1474 A.D. as the date of the second battle.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 192a.

<sup>8</sup> *A Narrative of Italian Travels*, pp. 37-39.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 24, supra.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. 192a.

<sup>11</sup> Ap. 14.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14. Cf. 192b states that Maqṣūd Beg was put to death by Sultān Khalīl shortly after his father's death.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 192b.

<sup>15</sup> Ap. 15.

<sup>16</sup> See p. 26, supra.

Ya'qūb Mirzā died at Sulṭān-Būd in Qarā-Bāgh<sup>1</sup> on the evening of Safar 11<sup>2</sup>, 896<sup>3</sup>/Dec. 24, 1490, and left three sons, namely: Bāysunqur Mirzā and Sulṭān Murād by Gawhar Sulṭān Khānum, daughter of Farrukh Yasār, the Shirwān Shāh, and Ḥasan Beg by Qulī Jān Khānum, daughter of Sulaymān Beg<sup>4</sup>.

*Bāysunqur Mirzā* ascended the throne. Differences arose amongst the nobles, some of whom supported the king's uncle Masīḥ Mirzā. The result was a severe skirmish, in which the pretender and most of his supporters were killed. Further, Rustam Mirzā ibn Maḥsūd Beg ibn Amīr Ḥasan Beg was imprisoned in the fort of Alanjiq<sup>5</sup>; but another potential rival Maḥmūd Beg<sup>6</sup> ibn Ughūrlū Muḥammad fled to Shāh 'Alī Parnāk at Hamadān, where the Khuṭba was read in his name. Finally, Maḥmūd Beg advanced on Ādharbāyjān, and encountered Bāysunqur Mirzā at Darguzīn, but was defeated in battle, and put to death after capture.

After this victory, Šūfī Khalīl, commander-in-chief of Bāysunqur Mirzā, assumed great power, which invoked the resentment of other nobles<sup>7</sup>. In the end of 896<sup>8</sup>/about Oct., 1491, Sulaymān Beg, governor of Diyār Bakr, advanced on Ādharbāyjān, and encountered Bāysunqur<sup>9</sup> Mirzā near Van<sup>10</sup>. The nobles, who were opposed to Šūfī Khalīl, captured Šūfī Khalīl and Bāysunqur Mirzā, and brought them to Sulaymān Beg, who put the former to death, and submitted to the latter, whereupon, they proceeded to Tabrīz<sup>11</sup>.

Ibrāhīm ibn Dānā Khalīl<sup>12</sup> alias Ayba Sulṭān, a noble of Bāysunqur Mirzā's court, got envious of Sulaymān Beg's power, released Rustam Mirzā from the fort of Alanjiq, and advanced on Tabrīz in the end of Rajab, 897/middle of May, 1492. Bāysunqur Mirzā tried to encounter the invader, but his nobles who were opposed to Sulaymān Beg, went over to Rustam Mirzā, and Bāysunqur Mirzā only saved his life by making his escape to Shirwān. Sulaymān Beg fled to Diyār Bakr, where he was put to death by Nūr 'Alī Beg, brother of Ayba Sulṭān, and Rustam Mirzā occupied Tabrīz<sup>13</sup>.

*Rustam Mirzā* ascended the throne in the end of Rajab, 879/middle of May, 1492. His treatment of the Šafawī family has been given before in detail<sup>14</sup>.

In Dhu'l-Q., 902/July, 1497. Aḥmad Beg ibn Ughūrlū Muḥammad advanced on Ādharbāyjān. This Aḥmad Beg had, after the death of his uncle, Ya'qūb Mirzā, in 896/1490, fled to Turkey, had married a daughter of the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512), and had been living there since then. Rustam Mirzā marched from Tabrīz, and the armies met on the bank of the river Aras. Before the commencement of the battle, Rustam Mirzā's nobles turned traitors, and declared for Aḥmad Beg, who put Rustam Mirzā to death and occupied Tabrīz.

*Aḥmad Beg* ascended the throne. Ḥusayn Beg 'Alī Khānī, a powerful noble of Aḥmad Beg's court, succeeded in disposing off his rival nobles, Muẓaffar Beg Parnāk and Ayba Sulṭān, of whom the former was put to death, and the latter was appointed governor of Iṣfahān. On his arrival at Kirmān, Ayba Sulṭān instigated Maṣṣūr Beg Parnāk, governor of Fārs, to avenge the death of his brother Muẓaffar Beg Parnāk on Ḥusayn Beg 'Alī Khānī, and promised help. Maṣṣūr Beg Parnāk agreed, and both of them marched on Iṣfahān.

On receipt of this news, Aḥmad Beg set out to crush the rebellion. The armies met at Ulāng-i-Kanīz near Iṣfahān<sup>15</sup> on Rabi' II, 18, 903<sup>16</sup>/Dec. 14, 1497. Aḥmad Beg lost his life in the battle, and Ayba Sulṭān proceeded to Qum, where he read the Khuṭba

<sup>1</sup> Ap. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 193b.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 193b.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18. Cf. 193b gives "Muḥammad Beg".

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. 194a.

<sup>9</sup> Ap. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. 194a.

<sup>11</sup> Ap. 18.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 194a.

<sup>13</sup> App. 18-19.

<sup>14</sup> See pp. 26-32, *supra*.

<sup>15</sup> Ap. 21.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. 194b.



in the name of Sultān Murād ibn Ya'qūb Mirzā, who had been living in Shirwān since the death of his brother Bāysunqur Mirzā in 898/1493.

Of Muḥammadi Mirzā and Alwand Mirzā, sons of Yūsuf Beg ibn Amīr Ḥasan Beg, who had been with Aḥmad Beg in the battle of Ulang-i-Kaniz, the former fled to Yazd, where Murād Beg Bāyandar read the Khuṭba in his name; and the latter to Diyār Bakr, where he was similarly proclaimed king by Qāsim Beg ibn Jahāngīr Beg brother of Amīr Ḥasan Beg.

In the spring (of 903/1498), when Ayba Sultān made for Tabriz, Muḥammadi Mirzā captured the whole of the Persian 'Irāq and encamped at Ray<sup>1</sup>. Meanwhile, Ayba Sultān and Sultān Murād, who had emerged from his retreat in Shirwān, fell out whereupon, Sultān Murād was imprisoned<sup>2</sup> at Rū'in-Dizh<sup>3</sup>.

Ayba Sultān sent for Alwand Mirzā from Diyār Bakr, and set out in his company<sup>4</sup> to attack Muḥammadi Mirzā, but as Muḥammadi Mirzā had fled to Ḥusayn Kiyā-i-Chalāwī in the fort of Ustā, Ayba Sultān left his brother Kūzil Aḥmad at Warāmin and returned to Qum. A few days later, Muḥammadi Mirzā made a night-attack on Kūzil Aḥmad and plundered his camp; Kūzil Aḥmad, however, succeeded in making his escape to Qum<sup>5</sup>, whence he, together with Ayba Sultān and Alwand Mirzā, fled towards Tabriz. The fugitives were overtaken by Muḥammadi Mirzā at 'Aziz Kaniti<sup>6</sup> in Shawwāl, 904<sup>7</sup>/May, 1499: Ayba Sultān lost his life in the skirmish<sup>8</sup>; Alwand Mirzā again fled to Diyār Bakr<sup>9</sup>, and Muḥammadi Mirzā made for Tabriz.

Muḥammadi Mirzā now ascended the throne, but was, shortly after, compelled to flee before Alwand Mirzā, who advanced from Diyār Bakr with a new army to occupy Tabriz.

Alwand Mirzā, on accession, immediately began to consolidate his power; nevertheless, Muḥammadi Mirzā succeeded in raising an army, and marching on Isfahān<sup>10</sup>.

Meanwhile, Sultān Murād had been released by Kūzil Aḥmad from Rū'in-Dizh, and had gone to Shirūz<sup>11</sup>, where he had established his own rule. On receiving the news of Muḥammadi Mirzā's advance on Isfahān, Sultān Murād marched from Shirāz, and encountered him at Khwāja Ḥasan-Māqī near Isfahān<sup>12</sup> in 905<sup>13</sup>/1499-1500. Muḥammadi Mirzā lost his life in the battle<sup>14</sup>, and Sultān Murād proceeded to Sultāniyya.

Thereupon, Alwand Mirzā set out from Tabriz to check Sultān Murād's advance. The armies met at Šā'in-Qal'a, but through the intercession of a pious man, named Bābā Khayru'llāh, peace was concluded between them, on the condition that Ādharbāyjan<sup>15</sup>, Mughān<sup>16</sup>, Arrān and Diyār Bakr should belong to Alwand Mirzā; and 'Irāq, Fārs and Kirmān to Sultān Murād, the river Qizil-Ūzūn forming the boundary between the two kingdoms. Alwand Mirzā returned to Tabriz and Sultān Murād to Qazwin. He then came to Shirāz, suppressed the rebellion of Qāsim Beg Parnāk by putting him to death, and proceeded to Kāzarūn where he spent the winter (of 906/1500-1). It was during this winter that Ismā'il Mirzā ibn Sultān Ḥaydar captured the province of Shirwān<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> App. 21-22.

<sup>2</sup> Bff. 39b-40a.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 195a.

<sup>4</sup> Bf. 40a. Ap. 22 omits this account and incorrectly gives that Ayba Sultān and Sultān Murād went to attack Muḥammadi Mirzā.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Bff. 40a-40b.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 194a.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Df. 40b.

<sup>10</sup> Ap. 22.

<sup>11</sup> Bf. 40b Ap. 22 omits this account.

<sup>12</sup> Ap. 22.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. 195a.

<sup>14</sup> Bf. 41a. Ap. 22 incorrectly states that he was taken to Sultāniyya by Sultān Murād.

<sup>15</sup> App. 22-23.

<sup>16</sup> Bf. 41b.

<sup>17</sup> App. 22-23.

The details of Alwand Mirzā's life from his battle with Ismā'il Mirzā till his death in Diyār Bakr in 910/1504-5 have been given before <sup>1</sup>. Further, the details of Sulṭān Murād's life, from his war with Shāh Ismā'il till his flight to 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr, the ruler of Mar'ash <sup>2</sup> (by whose daughter he had two sons, namely: Ya'qūb and Ḥasan <sup>3</sup>), and his death in the spring of 921/1515, have also been given before <sup>4</sup>. The Āq-Quyūnlū dynasty extinguished on the death of Sulṭān Murād.

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 37-38 and 43-44, supra.

<sup>3</sup> Bf. 256b.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 44-45, supra.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 86, supra.

## APPENDIX B

### *CHRONOLOGY OF THE HISTORY OF SHĀH ISMA'IL ŠAFAWĪ*

650/1252-53.	Birth of Shaykh Šafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq.
656/1258.	Death of Amīnu'd-Dīn Jibra'il.
Rajab, 700/Mar., 1301.	Death of Shaykh Zāhid Gīlānī.
Sawwāl, 704/Apr., 1305.	Birth of Shaykh Šadru'd-Dīn Mūsā.
Muḥarram 12, 735/Sept. 12, 1334.	Death of Shaykh Šafīyyu'd-Dīn Ishāq.
Muḥarram, 735/Sept., 1334.	Succession of Shaykh Šadru'd-Dīn Mūsā.
794/1391.	Death of Shaykh Šadru'd-Dīn Mūsā.
794/1391.	Succession of Shaykh Khwāja 'Alī.
Rajab 18, 830/May 14, 1427.	Death of Shaykh Khwāja 'Alī.
830/1427.	Succession of Shaykh Ibrāhīm better known as Shaykh Shāh.
851/1447.	Death of Shaykh Ibrāhīm better known as Shaykh Shāh.
851/1447.	Succession of Sultān Junayd.
857/1453.	Accession of Amīr Ḥasan Beg (or Ūzūn Ḥasan), the Āq-Quyūnlū, to the throne of Diyār Bakr.
(Circa) 860/1455.	Death of Sultān Junayd.
(Circa) 860/1455.	Succession of Sultān Ḥaydar.
Shawwāl, 872/May, 1468.	Death of Jahān Shāh, the Qarā-Quyūnlū.
Rajab 22, 873/Feb. 5, 1469.	Death of Sultān Abū Sa'id, the Tīmūrid.
(Circa) Rajab, 873/Feb., 1469.	Accession of Amīr Ḥasan Beg to the throne of Ādharbāyjan.
Shawwāl, 873/Apr., 1469.	Death of Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Jahān Shāh.
878/1473.	Wars of Amīr Ḥasan Beg with the Ottoman Sultān Muḥammad II.
880/1475.	Death of Ughūrlū Muḥammad ibn Amīr Ḥasan Beg.
Night preceding Shawwāl 1, 882/Jan. 6, 1478.	Death of Amīr Ḥasan Beg.
Shawwāl, 882/Jan., 1478.	Accession of Khalīl Sultān to the throne of Ādharbāyjan.
Rabī' II, 14, 883/July 15, 1478.	Death of Sultān Khalīl.
Rabī' II, 883/July, 1478.	Accession of Ya'qūb Mīrzā to the throne of Ādharbāyjan.
887/1483.	Construction of the famous palace of Hasht Bihisht (Eight Paradises) by Ya'qūb Mīrzā.
Rajab 25, 892/July 17, 1487.	Birth of Ism'āil Mīrzā ibn Sultān Ḥaydar.
Rajab 20, 893/July 1, 1488.	Death of Sultān Ḥaydar.
893/1488.	Succession of Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā.

- (Circa) End of Rabi' II, 894/end of March, 1489.
- Şafar 11, 896/Dec. 24, 1490.
- Şafar, 896/Dec., 1490.
- End of Rajab, 897/middle of May, 1492.
- End of Rajab, 897/middle of May, 1492.
- End of Shawwāl, 898/beginning of Aug., 1493.
- Dhu'l-Q., 899/Aug., 1493.
- (Circa) End of 899/middle of 1494.
- (Circa) End of 899/middle of 1494.
- (Circa) End of 899/middle of 1494.
- (Circa) End of 899/middle of 1494.
- (Circa) Beginning of 900/end of 1494.
- Dhu'l-Q., 902/July, 1497.
- Dhu'l-Q., 902/July, 1497.
- Rabi' II, 18, 903/Dec. 14, 1497.
- Shawwāl, 904/May, 1499.
- (Circa) End of 904/middle of 1499.
- (Circa) End of 904/middle of 1499.
- Middle of Muḥarram, 905/about Aug. 22, 1499.
- 905/1499.
- Middle of 906/end of 1500.
- Middle of 906/end of 1500.
- beginning of 907/middle of 1501.
- beginning of 907/middle of 1501.
- Shawwāl, 907/May, 1502.
- Dhu'l-Ḥ. 24, 908/June, 21, 1503.
- 909/1503-4.
- 909/1504.
- Middle of 910/end of 1504.
- 910/1504-5.
- Summer of 912/1507.
- Summer of 912/1507.
- Imprisonment of the sons and wife of Sultān Ḥaydar in the fort of Istakhr in Fārs.
- Death of Ya'qūb Mirzā.
- Accession of Bāysunqur Mirzā to the throne of Ādharbāyjan.
- Flight of Bāysunqur Mirzā from Tabriz.
- Accession of Rustam Mirzā to the throne of Ādharbāyjan.
- Release of the Şafawī family from the fort of Istakhr.
- Death of Bāysunqur Mirzā.
- Ismā'il Mirzā ibn Sultān Ḥaydar nominated head of the Şafawī Order.
- Death of Sultān 'Alī Pādishāh.
- Flight of Ibrāhīm Mirzā and Ismā'il Mirzā to Gilān.
- Arrival of Ibrāhīm Mirzā and Ismā'il Mirzā at Lāhijān.
- Death of Rustam Mirzā.
- Accession of Aḥmad Beg to the throne of Ādharbāyjan.
- Death of Aḥmad Beg.
- Accession of Muḥammadī Mirzā to the throne of Ādharbāyjan.
- Flight of Muḥammadī Mirzā from Tabriz.
- Accession of Alwand Mirzā to the throne of Ādharbāyjan.
- Ismā'il Mirzā's march from Lāhijān.
- Peace concluded between Alwand Mirzā and Sultān Murād.
- Battle of Ismā'il Mirzā with Farrukh Ya'sār, the Shirwān Shāh.
- Death of Farrukh Ya'sār, the Shirwān Shāh.
- Battle of Ismā'il Mirzā with Alwand Mirzā, the ruler of Ādharbāyjan.
- Accession of Ismā'il Mirzā to the throne of Ādharbāyjan.
- Pursuit of Alwand Mirzā by Shāh Ismā'il.
- Battle of Shāh Ismā'il with Sultān Murād, the ruler of the Persian 'Irāq and Fārs.
- Annexation of the Persian 'Irāq and Fārs by Shāh Ismā'il.
- Conquest of the forts of Gulkhandān, Fīrūz-Kūh and Ustā by Shāh Ismā'il.
- Re-conquest of Yazd by Shāh Ismā'il.
- Death of Alwand Mirzā.
- Battle of Shāh Ismā'il with 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr.
- Annexation of Diyār Bakr by Shāh Ismā'il.

Winter of 912/1507-8.	Wars of Muḥammad Khan Ustājilū with 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Dhu'l-Qadr.
Summer of 913/1508.	Annexation of the Arabian 'Irāq by Shāh Ismā'il.
913/1508.	Annexation of Khurāsān by Shaybānī Khān.
Winter of 914/1508-9.	Annexation of Lūristān by Shāh Ismā'il.
Summer of 915/1509.	Unsuccessful invasion of Hazāra by Shaybānī Khān.
Winter of 915/1509-10.	Re-conquest of Shirwān by Shāh Ismā'il.
Winter of 915/1509-10.	Remains of Sultān Ḥaydar brought from Tabarsarān to Ardabīl for burial.
Winter of 915/1509-10.	Invasion of Kirmān by the Uzbeks.
Summer of 916/1510.	First invasion of Khurāsān by Shāh Ismā'il.
Sha'bān 30, 916/Dec. 2, 1510.	Battle of Shāh Ismā'il with Shaybānī Khān in the neighbourhood of Marw.
Sha'bān 30, 916/Dec. 2, 1510.	Death of Shaybānī Khān.
Ramaḍān, 916/Dec., 1510.	Occupation of Hirāt by Shāh Ismā'il.
(Circa) End of 916/beginning of 1511.	Rising of Shāh Qulī in Asia Minor.
Beginning of 917/April, 1511.	Shāh Ismā'il's march towards Transoxiana, and peace concluded between him and the Uzbeks.
Rajab, 917/Oct., 1511.	Occupation of Samarqand by Bābur.
Ṣafar 7, 918/Apr. 24, 1512.	Deposition of the Ottoman Sultān Bāyezīd II.
Ṣafar 7, 918/Apr. 24, 1512.	Accession of Sultān Salīm I to the throne of Turkey.
Ṣafar, 918/May, 1512.	Defeat of Bābur by the Uzbeks.
(Circa) Summer, 918/1512.	Invasion of Turkish territory by Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlū.
Ramaḍān 3, 918/Nov. 12, 1512. *	Battle of Ghujduwān.
End of, 918/beginning of 1513.	Invasion of Khurāsān by the Uzbeks.
Dhu'l-Ḥ. 26, 918/Mar. 3, 1513.	Birth of Tahmāsp Mīrzā ibn Shāh Ismā'il.
Summer of 919/1513.	Second invasion of Khurāsān by Shāh Ismā'il.
(Circa) Ramaḍān, 919/Nov., 1513.	Revolt and death of Sulaymān Mīrzā brother of Shāh Ismā'il.
Ṣafar 23, 920/Apr. 19, 1514.	Sultān Salīm's start from Constantinople for the invasion of Ādharbāyjān.
Ṣafar, 920/Apr., 1514.	Sultān Salīm's first letter to Shāh Ismā'il.
(Circa) Jumāda 1, 920/July, 1514.	Shāh Ismā'il's reply to Sultān Salīm's three letters.
Rajab 2, 920/Aug. 23, 1514.	Battle of Chāldīrān.
Rajab 15, 920/Sept. 5, 1514.	Occupation of Tabriz by Sultān Salīm.
Rajab 23, 920/Sept. 13, 1514.	Sultān Salīm leaves Tabriz for Constantinople.
Spring of 921/spring of 1515.	Death of Sultān Murād, the last of the Aq-Quyūnlūs.
Rabi' II, 921/May, 1515.	Capture of the fort of Kamākh by Sultān Salīm.
(Circa) Rajab, 921/June, 1515.	Capture of Arzinjān by the Ottomans.

Summer of 921/summer of 1515.	Extirpation of the Dhu'l-Qadr dynasty by Sulṭān Salīm.
(Circa) End of 921/end of 1515.	Death of Badi'ū'z-Zamān Mirzā at Constantinople.
921/1515.	Annexation of Diyār Bakr by the Ottomans.
(Circa) Winter of 922/1515-16.	Birth of Alqāsp Mirzā ibn Shāh Ismā'il.
Winter of 922/1515-16.	Ṭahmāsp Mirzā appointed governor of Khurāsān.
Rabi' II, 3, 922/May 6, 1516.	Capture of Balkh by Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā.
(Circa) End of 922/end of 1516.	Capture of Balkh by Bābur.
Sha'bān 21, 923/Sept. 8, 1517.	Birth of Sām Mirzā ibn Shāh Ismā'il.
Sha'bān 24, 923/Sept. 11, 1517.	Birth of Rustam Mirzā ibn Shāh Ismā'il.
Sha'bān 28, 923/Sept. 15, 1517.	Birth of Bahrām Mirzā ibn Shāh Ismā'il.
Shawwāl, 924/Oct., 1518.	Shāh Ismā'il's letter to Karl V, Emperor of Germany.
(Circa) 925/1519.	Annexation of Gharjstān by the Persians.
Shawwāl 9, 926/Sept. 22, 1520.	Death of the Ottoman Sulṭān Salīm I.
Shawwāl 9, 926/Sept. 22, 1520.	Accession of Sulṭān Sulaymān to the throne of Turkey.
Spring of 927/1521.	Unsuccessful invasion of Khurāsān by the Uzbeks.
End of 927/end of 1521.	Recall of Ṭahmāsp Mirzā from Khurāsān and appointment of Sām Mirzā.
Jumāda II, 928/May, 1522.	Capture of Qandahār by Bābur.
Rajab 19, 930/May 23, 1524.	Death of Shāh Ismā'il.

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